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BRITISH AMERICA

THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY

A New History of the World

EDITED BY JOHN BUCHAN

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B.A.—*b*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This series has been undertaken to provide for the ordinary citizen a popular account of the history of his own and other nations, a chronicle of those movements of the past of which the effect is not yet exhausted, and which are still potent for the peace and comfort of the present. The writers conceive history as a living thing of the most urgent consequence to the men of to-day; they regard the world around us as an organic growth dependent upon a long historic ancestry. The modern view of history—apart from the pedantry of certain specialists—is a large view, subordinating the mere vicissitudes of dynasties and parliaments to those more fateful events which are the true milestones of civilisation. Clio has become an active goddess and her eyes range far. History is, of course, like all sciences, the quest for a particular kind of truth, but that word "truth" has been given a generous interpretation. The older type of historian was apt to interest himself chiefly in the doings of kings and statesmen, the campaigns of generals and the contests of parties. These no doubt are important, but they are not the whole, and to insist upon them to the exclusion of all else is to make the past an unfeatured wilderness, where the only personalities are generals on horseback, judges in ermine and monarchs in purple. Nowadays, whatever we may lack in art, we have gained in science. The plain man has come to his own, and, as Lord Acton has put it, "The true historian must now take his meals in the kitchen."

The War brought the meaning of history home to the world. Events which befell long ago suddenly became disruptive forces to shatter a man's ease, and he realised that what had seemed only a phrase in the textbooks might be a thing to die for. The Armistice left an infinity of problems, no one of which could be settled without tracing its roots into the past. Both time and space seemed to have "closed up." Whether we like it or not, our isolation is shattered, and not the remotest nation can now draw in its skirts from its neighbours. The consequence must be that even those who are averse to science, and prefer to settle everything by rule of thumb, will be forced to reconsider their views. Foreign politics have become again, as they were in the age of Pitt and Castlereagh, of Palmerston and Disraeli, urgent matters for every electorate. The average citizen recognises that the popular neglect of the subject contributed in no small degree to the War, and that problems in foreign affairs are as vital to him as questions of tariff and income tax. Once it used to be believed that a country might be rich while its neighbours were poor; now even the dullest is aware that economically the whole world is tightly bound together, and that the poverty of a part lessens the prosperity of the whole. A merchant finds his profits shrinking because of the rate of exchange in a land which was his chief market; he finds his necessary raw material costly and scarce because of the dislocation of industry in some far-away country. He recognises that no nation is commercially sufficient to itself, and he finds himself crippled, not by the success, but by the failure of his foreign colleagues. It is the same in other matters than commerce. Peace is every man's chief interest, but a partial peace is impossible. The world is so closely linked that one recalcitrant unit may penalise all the others.

In these circumstances it is inevitable that interest in foreign countries, often an unwilling and angry interest, should be compulsory for large classes which up to now have scarcely given the matter a thought. An understanding of foreign conditions—though at first it may not be a very sympathetic understanding—is forced upon us by the needs of our daily life. This understanding, if it is to be of the slightest value, must be based upon some knowledge of history, and Clio will be compelled to descend from the schools to the market-place. Of all the movements of the day none is more hopeful than the spread through all classes of a real, though often incoherent, desire for education. Partly it is a fruit of the War. Men realise that battles were not won by "muddling through"; that as long as we muddled we stuck fast, and that when we won it was because we used our brains to better purpose than our opponents. Partly it is the consequence of the long movement towards self-conscious citizenship, which some call democracy. Most thinking people to-day believe that knowledge spread in the widest commonalty is the only cure for many ills. They believe that education in the most real sense does not stop with school or college; indeed, that true education may only begin when the orthodox curriculum is finished. They believe, further, that this fuller training comes by a man's own efforts and is not necessarily dependent upon certain advantages in his early years. Finally, they are assured that true education cannot be merely technical or professional instruction; that it must deal in the larger sense with what are called the "humanities." If this diagnosis is correct, then the study of history must play a major part in the equipment of the citizen of the future.

I propose in these few pages to suggest certain reasons why the cultivation of the historical sense is of special value at this moment. The utilitarian arguments are obvious enough, but I would add to them certain considerations of another kind.

Man, as we know, is long-descended, and so are human society and the State. That society is a complex thing, the result of a slow organic growth and no mere artificial machine. In a living thing such as the State growth must be continuous, like the growth of a plant. Every gardener knows that in the tending of plants you cannot make violent changes, that you cannot transplant a well-grown tree at your pleasure from a wooded valley to the bare summit of a hill, that you cannot teach rhododendrons to love lime, or grow plants which need sun and dry soil in a shady bog. A new machine-made thing is simple, but the organic is always subtle and complex. Now, half the mischiefs in politics come from a foolish simplification. Take two familiar conceptions, the "political man" and the "economic man." Those who regard the citizen purely as a political animal, divorce him from all other aspects, moral and spiritual, in framing their theory of the State. In the same way the "economic man" is isolated from all other relations, and, if he is allowed to escape from the cage of economic science into political theory, will work havoc in that delicate sphere. Both are false conceptions, if our problem is to find out the best way to make actual human beings live together in happiness and prosperity. Neither, as a matter of fact, ever existed or could exist, and any polity based upon either would have the harshness and rigidity and weakness of a machine.

We have seen two creeds grow up rooted in these abstractions, and the error of both lies in the fact that they are utterly unhistorical, that they have been framed without any sense of the continuity of history. In what we call Prussianism a citizen was regarded as a cog in a vast machine called the State, to which he surrendered his liberty of judgment and his standard of morals. He had no rights against it and no personality distinct from it. The machine admitted no ethical principles which might interfere with its success, and the citizen, whatever his private virtues, was compelled to conform to this inverted anarchy. Moreover, the directors of the machine regarded the world as if it were a smooth, flat highroad. If there were hollows and hills created by time, they must be flattened out to make the progress of the machine smoother and swifter. The past had no meaning; all problems were considered on the supposition that human nature was like a mathematical quantity, and that solutions could be obtained by an austere mathematical process. The result was tyranny, a highly efficient tyranny, which nevertheless was bound to break its head upon the complexities of human nature. Such was Prussianism, against which we fought for four years, and which for the time is out of fashion. Bolshevism, to use the convenient word, started with exactly the same view. It believed that you could wipe the slate quite clean and write on it what you pleased, that you could build a new world with human beings as if they were little square blocks in a child's box of bricks. Karl Marx, from whom it derived much of its dogma, interpreted history as only the result of economic forces; he isolated the economic aspect of man from every other aspect and desired to re-create society on a purely economic basis. Bolshevism, though it wandered very far from Marx's doctrine, had a similar point of view. It sought with one sweep of the sponge to blot out all past history, and imagined that it could build its castles of bricks without troubling about foundations. It also was a tyranny, the worse tyranny of the two, perhaps because it was the stupider. It has had its triumphs and its failures, and would now appear to be declining; but it, or something of the sort, will come again, since it represents the eternal instinct of theorists who disregard history, and who would mechanise and unduly simplify human life.

There will always be much rootless stuff in the world. In almost every age the creed which lies at the back of Bolshevism and Prussianism is preached in some form or other. The revolutionary and the reactionary are alike devotees of the mechanical. The safeguard against experiments which can only end in chaos is the wide diffusion of the historical sense, and the recognition that " counsels to which Time hath not been called, Time will not ratify."

The second reason is that a sense of history is a safeguard against another form of abstraction. Ever since the War the world has indulged in a debauch of theorising, and the consequence has been an orgy of catchwords and formulas, which, unless they are critically examined, are bound to turn political discussion into a desert. The weakening of the substance of many accepted creeds seems to have disposed men to cling more feverishly to their shibboleths. Take any of our contemporary phrases—"self-determination," "liberty," "the right to work," "the right to maintenance," "the proletariat," "class consciousness," "international solidarity," and so forth. They all have a kind of dim meaning, but as they are currently used they have many very different meanings, and these meanings are often contradictory. I think it was Lord Acton who once said he had counted two hundred definitions of "liberty." Abraham Lincoln's words are worth remembering: "The world has never yet had a good definition of the word 'liberty,' and the American people just now are much in want of one. We are all declaring for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. We assume the word 'liberty' to mean that each worker can do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labour, while, on the other hand, it may mean that some man can do as he pleases with other men and the product of other men's labour." Are we not in the same difficulty to-day? Perhaps the worst sinner in this respect is the word "democracy." As commonly used, it has a dozen quite distinct meanings, when it has any meaning at all, and we are all familiar in political discussions with the circular argument—that such and such a measure is good for the people because it is democratic; and if it be asked why it is democratic, the answer is, "Because it is good for the people." "Democratic" really describes that form of government in which the policy of the State is determined and its business conducted by the will of the majority of its citizens, expressed through some regular channel. It is a word which denotes machinery, not purpose. "Popular," often used as an equivalent, means merely that the bulk of the people approve of a particular mode of government. "Liberal," the other assumed equivalent, implies those notions of freedom, toleration and pacific progress which lie at the roots of Western civilisation. The words are clearly not interchangeable. A policy or a government may be popular without being liberal or democratic; there have been highly popular tyrannies; the German policy of 1914 was popular, but it was not liberal, nor was Germany a democracy. America is a democracy, but it is not always liberal; the French Republic has at various times in its history been both liberal and democratic without being popular. Accurately employed, "democratic" describes a particular method, "popular" an historical fact, "liberal" a quality and an ideal. The study of history will make us chary about the loud, vague use of formulas. It will make us anxious to see catchwords in their historical relations, and will help us to realise the maleficent effect of phrases which have a fine rhetorical appeal, but very little concrete meaning. If political science is to be anything but a vicious form of casuistry it is very necessary to give its terms an exact interpretation, for their slipshod use will tend to create false oppositions and conceal fundamental agreements, and thereby waste the energy of mankind in empty disputation.

The third reason for the study of history is that it enables a man to take a balanced view of current problems, for a memory stored with historical parallels is the best preventive both against panic and over-confidence. Such a view does not imply the hard-and-fast deduction of so-called laws, which was a habit of many of the historians of the nineteenth century. Exact parallels with the past are hard to find, and nothing is easier than to draw false conclusions. A facile philosophy of history is, as Stubbs once said, "in nine cases out of ten a generalisation founded rather on the ignorance of points in which particulars differ, than in any strong grasp of one in which they agree." Precedents from the past have often been used with disastrous results. In our own Civil War the dubious behaviour of the Israelites on various occasions was made an argument for countless blunders and tyrannies. In the same way the French Revolution has been used as a kind of arsenal for bogus parallels, both by revolutionaries and conservatives, and the most innocent reformers have been identified with Robespierre and St. Just. During the Great War the air was thick with these false precedents. In the Gallipoli Expedition, for example, it was possible to draw an ingenious parallel between that affair and the Athenian Expedition to Syracuse, and much needless depression was the consequence. At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution there were many who saw in it an exact equivalent to the Revolution of 1788 and imagined that the new Russian revolutionary armies would be as invincible as those which repelled the invaders of France. There have been eminent teachers in recent years whose mind has been so obsessed with certain superficial resemblances between the third century of the Christian era and our own times that they have prophesied an impending twilight of civilisation. Those of us who have been engaged in arguing the case for the League of Nations are confronted by its opponents with a dozen inaccurate parallels from history, and the famous plea of the " thin edge of the wedge " is usually based upon a mistaken use of the same armoury.

A wise man will be chary of drawing dapper parallels and interpreting an historical lesson too rigidly. At the same time there are certain general deductions which are sound and helpful. For example, we all talk too glibly of revolution, and many imagine that, whether they like it or not, a clean cut can be made, and the course of national life turned suddenly and violently in a different direction. But history gives no warrant for such a view. There have been many thousands of revolutions since the world began; nearly all have been the work of minorities, often small minorities; and nearly all, after a shorter or longer period of success, have utterly failed. The French Revolution altered the face of the world, but only when it had ceased to be a revolution and had developed into an absolute monarchy. So with the various outbreaks of 1848. So conspicuously with the Russian Revolution of to-day, which has developed principles the exact opposite of those with which it started. The exception proves the rule, as we see in the case of our own English Revolution of 1688. Properly considered, that was not a revolution, but a reaction. The revolution had been against the personal and unlimited monarchy of the Stuarts. In 1688 there was a return to the normal development of English society, which had been violently broken. It may fairly be said that a revolution to be successful must be a reaction—that is, it must be a return to an organic historical sequence, which for some reason or other has been interrupted.

Parallels are not to be trusted, if it is attempted to elaborate them in detail, but a sober and scientific generalisation may be of high practical value. At the close of the Great War many people indulged in roseate forecasts of a new world—a land fit for heroes to live in, a land inspired with the spirit of the trenches, a land of co-operation and national and international goodwill. Such hasty idealists were curiously blind to the lessons of the past, and had they considered what happened after the Napoleonic wars they might have found a juster perspective. With a curious exactness the history of the three years after Waterloo has repeated itself to-day. There were the same economic troubles—the same rise in the cost of living, with which wages could not keep pace; the same shrinking of foreign exports owing to difficulties of exchange; the same cataclysmic descent of agricultural prices from the high levels of the war; the same hostility to profiteers; the same revolt against high taxation, and the same impossibility of balancing budgets without it. The Property tax then was the equivalent of our Excess Profits tax, and it is interesting to note that it was abolished in spite of the Government because the commercial community rose against it. There was the same dread of revolution, and the same blunders in the handling of labour, and there was relatively far greater suffering. Yet the land, in spite of countless mistakes, passed through the crisis and emerged into the sunlight of prosperity. In this case historic precedent is not without its warrant for hope.

One charge has been brought against the study of history—that it may kill reforming zeal. This has been well put by Lord Morley: "The study of all the successive stages and beliefs, institutions, laws, forms of art, only too soon grows into a substitute for practical criticism of all these things upon their merits and in themselves. Too exclusive attention to dynamic aspects weakens the energetic duties of the static. The method of history is used merely like any other scientific instrument. There is no more conscience in your comparative history than there is in comparative anatomy. You arrange ideals in classes and series; but the classified ideal loses its vital spark and halo." There is justice in the warning, for a man may easily fall into the mood in which he sees everything as a repetition of the past, and the world bound on the iron bed of necessity, and may therefore lose his vitality and zest in the practical work of to-day. It is a danger to be guarded against, but to me it seems a far less urgent menace than its opposite—the tendency to forget the past and to adventure in a raw new world without any chart to guide us. History gives us a kind of chart, and we dare not surrender even a small rushlight in the darkness. The hasty reformer who does not remember the past will find himself condemned to repeat it.

There is little to sympathise with in the type of mind which is always inculcating a lack-lustre moderation, and which has attained to such a pitch of abstraction that it finds nothing worth doing and prefers to stagnate in ironic contemplation. Nor is there more to be said for the temper which is always halving differences in a problem and trying to find a middle course. The middle course, mechanically defined, may be the wrong course. The business of a man steering up a difficult estuary is to keep to the deep-water channel, and that channel may at one hour take him near the left shore and at another hour close to the right shore. The path of false moderation sticks to the exact middle of the channel, and will almost certainly land the pilot on a sandbank. These are the vices that spring from a narrow study of history and the remedy is a broader and juster interpretation. At one season it may be necessary to be a violent innovator, and at another to be a conservative; but the point is that a clear objective must be there, and some chart of the course to steer by. History does not provide a perfect chart, but it gives us something better than guess-work. It is a bridle on crude haste; but it is not less a spur for timidity and false moderation. Above all it is a guide and a comforter to sane idealism. "The true Past departs not," Carlyle wrote, "nothing that was worthy in the Past departs; no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die; but all is still here, and, recognised or not, lives and works through endless change."

JOHN BUCHAN.

NOTE

THE history of *Canada* up to the Great War has here been written by Mr. A. G. Bradley, the more recent chapters (XX-XXV) being the work of Mr. W. S. Wallace, Professor of History, Toronto; whilst Mr. Adam Shortt, C.M.G., Chairman, Board of Historical Publications, Ottawa, is responsible for Canadian Economics.

The section on *Newfoundland* is by the Hon. Sir P. McGrath, K.B.E., President of the Legislative Council of that Island.

The *Crown Colonies of British America* are described by Mr. Francis Bickley.

The whole volume has been compiled under the care of Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen.

THE CROWN COLONIES OF BRITISH AMERICA

(HISTORY AND ECONOMICS)

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CANADA

A. HISTORY

I

THE FOUNDERS OF CANADA

We are apt to forget in the exuberance of our Tudor memories how late it was that England, and incidentally France, came upon the scene as active factors in the expansion of Europe. For just about two hundred years before these countries set permanent foot upon Virginia, New England and Canada, the navigators of Southern Europe had been laying familiar trails over the remotest seas and establishing posts on distant shores wholly beyond the purview of North-western Europe. The Portuguese and Spaniards in the order named, it needs no saying, were the pioneers and the profiteers in these daring ventures. Hardened as soldiers by long struggles with the Moors in Europe, stimulated as sailors by their advantageous position for mediæval commerce and inspired by a succession of great leaders, Portugal was making Asia and Africa her orbit, while we in England were fighting the Wars of the Roses. Our little coasting Cinque-Port fleets had scarcely ceased to be the ultimate expression of British seamanship and militant sea-power. The annual Yarmouth herring-fair was still the greatest marine event in North-western Europe.

With all the knowledge thus gathered of Eastern countries, it seems almost strange that the discovery of America should have so astonished the world. Snubbed by Portugal and other Powers, the achievement of the Genoese Columbus in 1492 for the King of Spain lifted that country at once to a level with Portugal as a colonial Power. The latter had the foresight and enterprise to secure Brazil; but Spain, with the Pope's blessing and sanction, became the dominant Power in the Western World.

Fully engaged in quarrels with one another or in domestic discord, France scarcely, and England not at all, figured in these great adventures. French ships, however, were occasionally seen on the West African coast, and in 1534 Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, crossed the Atlantic, sailed up the St. Lawrence, halting where Quebec now stands and passing up to the site of Montreal. He returned the following year and again in 1541, when he and his party underwent a winter of much suffering.

Commissioned by King François, another and larger expedition was sent out from France under the Sieur de Robeval, which actually passed Cartier on his homeward journey. Under less competent leadership this second party, after spending a futile year of aimless entrenchment and building, returned home, leaving nothing behind but the name of New France, which by degrees asserted itself. For some time nothing more was attempted.

Save for the indigenous savage, solitude reigned in this cradle-spot of Canadian nationality for over half a century, though the lower St. Lawrence became more or less familiar to the seamen of all nations who gathered every summer for the cod-fishing off the Banks of Newfoundland, first discovered by the Cabots of Bristol in 1497. It was these fishermen from the West of England who were in fact the pioneers of English sea-power and the exponents of that advance in English naval science which, speaking broadly, dated from the interest taken in it by Henry VIII.

But we must pass over the tentative sixteenth-century lodgments both of the French, who affected the St. Lawrence shore, and the Elizabethan English, who claimed the whole coast to the southward as far as Spanish Florida and named it Virginia. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that the French made their permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence and founded the country which now stretches from ocean to ocean under the general name of Canada. It should be noted too that Champlain's achievement approximately coincided with the founding of the definite colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts, the respective cradles of those two rather diverse types of oversea Englishmen who developed later the still wider cleavage which still differentiates the people of the Northern and Southern States of the Union from one another.

Champlain, who in 1608 planted the beginnings of New France at Quebec, was a man of high ability and commanding character. Though a whole group of intrepid Frenchmen, explorers, missionaries, fur-traders, both Catholic and Huguenot, aided him directly or indirectly or followed in his steps, his name as the founder of French Canada stands on an eminence by itself.

For many previous years he had travelled by land or water, exploring and mapping the coasts and rivers from what is now Nova Scotia, and thence up the St. Lawrence, past the site of Quebec, to the head of navigation where Montreal now stands. It was not till 1608, however, that he finally decided on the site of the capital of New France, and commenced the fort on the Rock of Quebec and the buildings at its foot that were, for so long as it lasted, to be the sign and symbol of French power in North America.

But even so it was long enough before the little French settlement regarded itself as a permanent home for expatriated Frenchmen, as New England and Virginia soon came to be looked upon by Englishmen anxious to escape persecution or to better themselves in life. The leaders of all these colonies had the discovery of a water-way to the Pacific steadily at the back of their minds, till they began to realise the extent of the new continent. But the English did comparatively little exploring: they were content to make homes for themselves, follow planting and agriculture and reproduce, as nearly as possible, another England across the seas. The gold fever soon evaporated with early disappointment. Even the fur trade became secondary to agriculture. The sense of building up new lands seized both the sentimental and practical side of Englishmen. The pamphlets disseminated by Captain Smith and others in the time of James I might in the main essentials have been almost written by the promoters of emigration to-day.

With New France it was far different. Apart from the more natural desire of the French Crown for its share in these wonderful new worlds, and apart too from the hoped-for discovery of a north-west passage sought for farther afield and more diligently by the French, there were two leading motives in the founding of Quebec. Firstly the fur-trade, secondly the missionary spirit, as displayed more particularly by the Jesuits. Men came out either to make money or to convert Indians, not to face the fierce northern climate as cultivators, or cut homes out of the woods for their descendants, though incidentally, in a limited degree, these things eventually came about.

Champlain, however, made one initial mistake that, humanly speaking, was responsible for more than a century of troubles and trials to the French. For, confronted by three leading nations of warlike Indians, the Algonquins and Hurons of Canada and the Iroquois or Five Nations of Western New York (to anticipate later boundary lines), he allied himself with the two first-named against the last, their hereditary and powerful foe. He alienated, in short, that formidable combination which till the fall of Canada may almost be said to have held the balance of power in North America between the English and the French, and exposed the struggling French colony to a hundred years of intermittent and desperate conflict with these wily and merciless enemies.

For three decades—a short interval excepted, when an English force seized Quebec, to be restored almost immediately by treaty—Champlain nursed the colony wisely and well. It was in truth the outcome of fur-trading stations previously planted far up the great river by merchants from Rouen and St. Malo—a combined forward movement, as it were, of these adventurers to a firmer and more concentrated base under the authority of the King. Some of the colonists were Catholics, some Huguenots, but each brought their own ministers; who quarrelled, however, so persistently that Liberal principles were discarded and only Catholic priests admitted. Champlain himself, leaving the fur-trade to the traders and the missions to the priests, set energetically to work at the extension of his country's interests. An indefatigable explorer, he traversed the wilderness which is now Ontario and even reached the farther shores of Lake Superior. Inspired by his zeal, and like him aided by Canada's vast network of streams and lakes, some of his followers pierced the thousand intervening miles of shaggy forest and crossed the Red River of the North, that divides them from the vast prairies beyond. Nay, more, for a little later, while Virginians and New Englanders were still wrestling with economic and other problems on or near their respective seacoasts, these daring men actually crossed the farther eight hundred miles of prairie and gazed upon the icy summits of the Rocky Mountains which shut them off from the Pacific coast. Champlain, however, by no means confined his efforts to North America, but wrought hard in Europe to interest leading men in the possibilities opening up in this wonderful New World.

But all this did not do much towards populating New France. The fur-trade was adventured by a chartered company in France known as "The Hundred Associates" after the fashion of the day, succeeded by a second ("North-West") company which after a brief career was abolished in 1672. Its employees were *coureurs-des-bois*, not farmers. Nor did the numerous Indian quasi-converts of the zealous Jesuits do anything in the way of Empire-building. They retarded it rather by creating troubles with the other tribes to the southward, who preferred the old gods and suspected the new ones. The Five Nations became henceforward a sore thorn in the side of the French colony and in later days a trump-card in the hands of the British, who, with brief intervals, retained their interest, steadily supported as it was by trade relations which included arms and ammunition at usually lower prices.

In 1641 a fresh burst of interest in the colony broke out in France, but the movement was mainly emotional and religious. Prompted, it is said, by supernatural manifestations, a group of religious enthusiasts, including women of high birth and altruistic soldiers, arrived at Quebec, and, passing up the St. Lawrence, planted the cross and the *fleur-de-lys* at what is now Montreal. Nature from the very start made the high destinies of this spot inevitable, as it stood at the head of navigation on the great river which was the life and soul of Canada. For just above the island of Montreal (Mont Royal) commenced those intermittent rapids which up-stream traffic could not face, but which the whole Indian fur-trade from the great interior lakes could descend by canoes, carried with ease and leisure around these obstacles on their return journey. Here too came in the great stream of the Ottawa, bringing a lesser volume of trade from the north, while ocean ships could at all times ascend the 150 miles of smooth river from Quebec.

So the beginnings of Montreal, the future centre of the fur-trade and of the infinitely bigger interests that in later days superseded it, arose, to become, in the first instance, a western outpost, not merely to catch the trade but to break the first rush of Indian attacks.

The geography of Canada, as regards its small occupied portion throughout the whole century and a half of the French régime, is fairly simple. Montreal remained in effect the western limit of its civilisation. The slow-growing settlements scattered themselves along both banks of the river between Quebec and its sister town, with occasional deviations up the Richelieu River and elsewhere to the southward. For long it clustered more thickly around Quebec and on the fertile island of Orleans, which there parts the river for several miles, and thence spread slowly down both shores of the St. Lawrence. The great river, hitherto but one to two miles in width, and becoming now more susceptible to ocean tides, here rapidly expands into far larger dimensions. Below Quebec too the north shore assumes a rugged and sometimes mountainous character, while the opposing one, always more inviting to settlement, retains the lower-lying features and physical amenities of the higher reaches of the river.

Such in brief was French Canada, as, save for a few trading-posts, some of them audaciously pushed out into the remotest west, it remained till the conquest.

II

THE FRENCH IN CANADA AND ACADIA

In 1663 Canada contained only about 3,000 European settlers, and its tale had been mainly one of exploration, missionary heroism, fur-trade enterprises and Indian fighting. Now, however, the North-West Company's incapable sway was withdrawn, pending its subsequent abolition, and the country formally taken over by the Crown, worn at the moment by the young Louis XIV, then in the flush of his early colonial enthusiasm and supported by three capable men equally zealous. These were his minister Colbert, his Viceroy Count Frontenac, and Talon, *Intendant* of Canada.

Virginia had by now a population of some 50,000 souls. New England, but a trifle younger, was equally progressive, and the French King determined to make something more of his North American possessions than a large trading-station and an agency for converting the heathen. In detail, however, he had no fancy for following the free and easy self-governing English methods. But he had first to get his settlers; and as a step towards this he offered lands to the disbanded Regiment of Carignan-Sallières, which had distinguished itself both on European fields and later as guardians of the Indian frontier. Most of its officers and men accepted the terms and were settled mainly on the fertile levels of the Richelieu River as a protection against the Five Nations. Civil emigration was encouraged on similar lines, though strictly controlled by the Crown, and was fairly responded to in the northern provinces of France. But the women were backward, and wives had somehow to be found, for the authorities were shrewd enough to see that Indian matrimonial alliances, adopted by the French on all the wild frontier posts, would be fatal to the future of the Colony. So the plan which had succeeded so well in Virginia was followed in France, and batches of respectable girls were consigned to the care of the various religious houses, which were already predominant features in Quebec and Montreal. Husbands were quickly found for them, every encouragement offered for large families, and the Colony was fairly started on its way as a stable and, as it was hoped, self-supporting community.

But by no means was it to be a self-governing one. This suited neither the theories nor the practice of the French monarchy, nor in truth were the people themselves qualified for any such political liberties. Every detail of government and conduct was jealously reserved to the Crown. The desired end was to be secured by the imposition of a feudal system as like that of France as the conditions of a new country allowed. But while the tenants or *censitaires* were economically subject to their territorial lords, the latter had no more political power or influence than their dependents.

A *noblesse* was established, drawn partly from the military officers already in the country and partly from such of the landless *petite noblesse* at home who were willing to emigrate, while the deficiency was made up by men of no birth prepared to pay for the privilege. These *seigneurs* were severally endowed with forest tracts—for every foot of Canada was original forest—each of a few leagues in extent, but always with a river frontage, and mostly on the St. Lawrence.

All lands were held in trust from the Crown, theoretically at least on good behaviour and the fulfilment of various seigneurial conditions into which we cannot enter here. The seigneur owed fealty and obeisance to the King's Viceroy, and paid it on acquirement or succession with all the mediæval ceremonies; but no freeholds were granted in the colony.

This transfer of such a system to a new country where there was no money and where the prospectively supporting acres had to be cut out of the primeval forest, was, as may be imagined, but very partially successful. Still, it lasted throughout the whole French régime and in a slightly modified fashion for a century after it. Such a noblesse, in the accepted sense of the term, must inevitably be something of a mockery. Their trifling rents and dues were often insufficient to lift their standard of life above that of their own *censitaires*, which in truth was primitive enough. Small wonder that they often preferred the free adventurous life of the hunter or explorer in the western wilds, or the fur-trader with its greater though illicit profits, for, as we have seen, this was now a Crown monopoly.

Least of all must the clerical side of Canadian administration be forgotten. For not only had it a vital influence on the whole future of the Colony, but for both good and ill it has remained a determining factor in the social and political life of French Canada to this day. In the earlier years Catholic and Huguenot had united in the perils and profits of Canadian settlement. The Jesuits had first arrived in 1625, when Champlain still ruled, but of course shared in the brief eviction of the colonists after Admiral Kirk's seizure of Quebec and Acadia (of which a word presently) in 1629. With the return of Champlain at the restoration by treaty, and under the patronage of Richelieu with his ultramontane views, they established a firmer footing at the expense of the more tolerant *Recollets*, who had hitherto been the chief missioners.

With all their individual heroism and their invaluable literary contributions to early Canadian history, it is not too much to say that their entry sealed the doom of France as a North American Power, for henceforward no Huguenot was allowed to set foot in the colony. When after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes these people left France in their thousands, it was England, the Netherlands and even the Anglo-American colonies that were fertilised by their sturdy industry. Had their energies been turned into the Canadian wilderness, above all into those vast western territories which adventurous Frenchmen were already annexing to the French Crown by right of discovery, the map of North America might now have been painted in different colours. But the French Crown, supported by an ultramontane Church, chose the fatal course which throttled the development of their splendid heritage, and kept Canada for a hundred years but a patch of poverty-stricken, priest-ridden feudalism.

But we must now return to an earlier period and briefly trace the beginnings of that eastern and maritime fragment of Canada which, with trifling interludes, remained a separate entity under the French Crown for just a century from its inception.

While Champlain and his compatriots, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, were nibbling for future sites of occupation along the shores of the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, the country, named by the French Acadia and by their British successors Nova Scotia, attracted their first serious attention. This was in the tolerant reign of Henri IV. For the first adventurer actually to receive the King's commission as Lieutenant of the still vaguely defined Canada was a Calvinist nobleman and founder of a trading company, the Sieur de Monts. The expedition was chiefly supported by the Protestant town of La Rochelle from which it sailed. So actually the first official assumption of Canadian dominion was placed in Protestant hands, with the sole condition that the conversion of the heathen should be left to the priests—which, we may well believe, bore lightly on the Huguenot.

Now, Acadia is almost an island, with its long south-eastern shore facing the Atlantic, and its western side only joined to the mainland, where is now New Brunswick, by a narrow isthmus. It was within these sheltered straits, known later as the Bay of Fundy, that by far the most attractive portion of the new Province for settlement purposes was first occupied and became the focus of all activities and international disputes for the next hundred years.

The footing obtained by de Monts and his colleague the Baron de Pontrincourt was slight, though of a romantic and adventurous nature ; but it proved nevertheless the actual foundation of French Acadia, despite many subsequent misfortunes. Many of the settlers (including Pontrincourt) were Catholics, but toleration was then in 1605 the order of the day, particularly overseas. Both parties, too, regarded the Jesuits with equal hatred.

But Jesuit intrigues now began to prevail over even Henri IV ; and, supported by the jealousy of Breton merhants, the Order succeeded in getting the company's charter revoked. The little colony of Port Royal had, therefore, to be reluctantly abandoned in 1608. After much wire-pulling at Court, however, Pontrincourt was allowed to return in 1610, on condition of sharing his authority with a Jesuit professor. But that astute adventurer, by a ruse, left the troublesome priest at home and, sailing once more into Port Royal, found the friendly Micmac Indians had preserved his buildings and goods intact. With the death of Henri, however, and the advent of the young Louis XIII and the Regent Marie de' Médici, the Jesuits became all-powerful in French affairs.

In 1611 Pontrincourt was home again in the interests of his little colony, a proceeding which ended in his being imprisoned for debt and Port Royal handed over bodily to the Jesuits under the patronage of a noble lady associated with that Order, to whom the Regent had granted the whole coast of North America from Florida northwards. As this was in 1613, when the two powerful Anglo-Virginian companies had not only advanced the same claim but were enforcing it by far-spread naval activities and one established colony on the James River, the French lady's grant is rather suggestive of a trivial drawing-room favour. But her spiritual advisers took it seriously, and with a well-stocked ship and company of emigrants they sailed for Acadia. If they had merely reinforced and replenished the weak settlement at Port Royal, all might have been well. But they foolishly left their Acadian compatriots lamenting and sailed away to make a lodgment at Penobscot, on the coast of what is now Maine. They were hardly established, however, before an English warship from Virginia was down upon them, commanded by Captain Argall, at that moment the most active vindicator of English interests on the North American coast, and the whole company was carried away as prisoners. Worse still, the Governor of Virginia, who, under the old claim made by England arising out of the discovery of Newfoundland by the two Cabots in 1497, regarded even Acadia as English territory, sent Argall back to destroy Port Royal. This he did effectually, though its few score of inhabitants evaded his grasp and survived the sufferings which followed the loss of everything they possessed. Thus ended in 1614 the first stage of Acadian history.

Gradually, however, the French crept back to their deserted seats, and the right of France to Acadia began informally to reassert itself. But in 1629 a Scottish gentleman of poetic temperament, Sir William Alexander, afterwards Lord Stirling and a friend of James I, persuaded that King to grant him a patent for colonising Acadia with Scotsmen and renaming it Nova Scotia. On James dying soon afterwards; the patent was renewed by Charles I. Alexander had shadowy, aristocratic, unpractical theories of colonisation, common enough among the untravelled enthusiasts of his day and class. The map-made domains into which the new colony was divided were purchasable, and a Royal ordinance endowed the purchaser with a baronetcy. This was all paper work so far as Nova Scotia was concerned, but the Nova Scotian baronetcies put money into the Royal purse, carried English or Scottish honours, and are the well-known origin to the title of many families holding that rank to-day. Sir William himself never left England, though his son settled a small Scottish colony on the Bay of Fundy.

But the French proved more active and persistent in Acadia, and despite some disagreement among themselves and a few trading interests temporarily established by individual Englishmen or New-Englanders, Acadia was eventually recognised as French soil.

New England, however, cast an always jealous eye upon it; and when Cromwell's fleet was on the coast in 1654 and taking New York from the Dutch, the opportunity was too good to be missed, and he was persuaded to sanction the seizure of Acadia.

We were then at peace with France, but that counted for little in colonial enterprises. With such means to hand the New Englanders achieved their end without difficulty. But at the Treaty of Breda in 1677, Charles II restored it to France, who retained it till the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when the province finally passed into British hands.

Lightly as have been touched on the petty squabbles and intricate proceedings which eventually left the French as sole occupiers and owners of Acadia for the best part of a century, it might still almost seem as if undue space had been devoted to a country which even in 1677 contained only about five hundred settlers. But these people, despite their persistently primitive life and their numerical insignificance, are not an unimportant unit in early Canadian history. Even more perhaps are they interesting and picturesque. Though subject to the Government at Quebec, they were virtually cut off by an impenetrable wilderness or an alternative sea-voyage of many hundred miles from French Canada and its rigid organisation. So they remained in effect quite isolated from their Canadian fellow-subjects. They were derived in the main too from a different part of France, namely, its marshy western coasts about La Rochelle. They had no turn for felling trees, and found in the great marshes on the Bay of Fundy a fine opportunity for dyking out the sea and by that easier means acquiring fertile land which needed no clearing, after the fashion they had been used to at home. Nor again were they organised under a feudal tenure nor shepherded by monasteries as in Canada. In fact they were left virtually alone and developed along the lines of an industrious, peaceable, unlettered, peasant community with seldom anyone to defer to but their parish priests. As they grew into their thousands, almost entirely from natural increase and without assistance from immigration, they still clung to the sheltered and fertile western coast of Acadia, with small lodgments across the Bay on the St. John River and the neighbouring shores of what is now New Brunswick. They had no trouble with the Indians, and indeed there is little to be said about them till the cession of Acadia, then renamed Nova Scotia, to the English in 1713. Then it was, when Cape Breton Island, actually the northern corner of Nova Scotia, was reserved by treaty to the French and the great fortress of Louisbourg arose and made trouble with these people, that they come in a modest but pathetic way into history, and of this we shall hear later. But the Acadians have always had a separate historical identity as a bit of old oversea France geographically detached from the rest of French Canada and differing from it in their origin and their manner of colonial development, and consequently not a little in habit and even in vernacular speech.

III

COUNT FRONTENAC AND HIS TIMES, 1672–1700

We must now return to the banks of the St. Lawrence and to Canada proper, the particular care of the French Crown, with its rigid laws and organisation and its ultramontane Church. The conditions here differed essentially from the rather haphazard beginnings out of which the English colonies, with their intense individualism and politically-minded people, grew so rapidly in vigour and prosperity. The governors sent out from England were rarely chosen on their merits. The Viceroys of Canada, on the other hand, were selected with the utmost care. So were the Intendants, men of legal training whose duty was to manage the finances and incidentally to keep an eye on the Governor in the interests of the Crown. The Intendant was in fact more powerful than his nominal chief, for he reported directly to the King and had the power of issuing ordinances equivalent to laws, which some of them infamously abused. Lastly, the Bishop, the head of the Church and the third of the triumvirate which, subject to the King, administered the colony, was chosen with equal circumspection. There was indeed a "Supreme Council," nominated by the Crown, but in effect the above-mentioned high officials governed the country.

Three remarkable men, who have all left an indelible mark on French Canada, came out in the last half of the seventeenth century to fill these offices—Count Frontenac as Viceroy, Talon as Intendant, and Laval as Bishop. Their periods of activity coincided with that forward movement of the colony promoted by Louis XIV and Colbert already spoken of. The laws of France, which in modified form still obtain in civil matters, had been already introduced. For judicial purposes the country was divided into three districts, those of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, a town growing up about midway between these other two, with a judge to each and a right of appeal to the Supreme Council. The other unit of administration, besides the Seigneuries, was the parish. The Church was established under the Bishop, subject always, and by no means nominally, to the King and supported as in France by the tithe, or *dime*. Every man, too, of suitable age had to serve in the militia, while its officers, who might or might not be seigneurs, enforced in peace-time the orders of the Government in their respective parishes.

For the education and provision of parish priests or curés Laval founded a seminary in Quebec which in later days developed into the well-equipped University which still bears his name. So in time the parishes, increasing in number with the growth and spread of population, had each its curé, who, with the seigneur and the militia captain, made up its trio of notables till a later stage of development, when a demand for village notaries sometimes added an unofficial fourth. The rest of the population outside the towns were simple peasants. Popular initiative was absolutely banned. Even a parish-meeting for the erection or repair of a church could not be held without the authority of the Intendant. Neither seigneur, militia captain, curé nor notary had the least voice in the government of the country, nor, it might be added, did their traditions move them to such aspirations.

Count Frontenac, a haughty, masterful man with some independent ideas of his own, did in fact attempt to reproduce the ancient system of France and call an assembly of the various Estates, clergy, nobles and burgesses. But the King at once quashed any such popular tendencies. Efforts to establish a mayor and corporation in Quebec were also suppressed with similar promptitude.

Count Frontenac is an outstanding figure in the history of the French régime and has captured the imagination of all those interested in its romance. He arrived in 1672, when the country had been reorganised and reinvigorated by the forward colonial policy of France, and was Viceroy for two separate periods, covering twenty years. He was a strong, hot-tempered, rather obstinate man and fell out a good deal with his Intendants, who as confidential advisers of the King and holders of the purse-strings had more actual power than their titular chiefs, over whom they were set as checks, or in brief as spies. Frontenac was often, too, at loggerheads with the Bishop, who was apt to assume rather more than the ecclesiastical powers with which he was legally endowed. He made hot war on the Iroquois and was a terror to the Dutch and English on the frontiers of New York, and to the New Englanders upon their own border. He encouraged the French explorers who were pushing the interests of France along the far shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan, and setting up the royal arms on wooden crosses in the upper basin of the Mississippi. He even laid schemes for driving the English bodily out of New York with the help of French fleets, and made himself generally such a thorn in the side of the English colonists that he brought upon Quebec the first serious attempt at retaliation and capture, though occasional raids had been made into the Richelieu country south of Montreal.

During Frontenac's absence in France, 1682–90, military affairs had not gone well with Canada. The Iroquois had surprised La Chine, a settlement on the first rapids just above Montreal, had slaughtered two hundred of the settlers and carried off as many more to what was usually a far worse fate. The New Englanders, too, were a constant menace to Acadia, and the English were establishing a footing in the far north at Hudson's Bay, and threatening a serious leak in the French fur-trade. So Frontenac had again been despatched to Quebec, and with the greater urgency as the long struggle between William III and Louis XIV in Europe had just begun. It was this which prompted Frontenac's great scheme against New York designed for the expulsion of every Protestant, English and Dutch, from that city and province. The English, however, had taken time by the forelock, had ravaged the Acadian shore and seized Port Royal, not in itself, however, an achievement of great importance. But in October of the same year, 1690, a much more serious blow was aimed. For under the command of a veteran New England skipper, Sir William Phipps, a fleet of thirty-two vessels, including several men-of-war and carrying 2,300 New England soldiers, appeared before Quebec. Another force in the meantime was making its way up the Lakes George and Champlain route from New York, which afterwards became, in the days of Wolfe and later, the recognised method of combined attack on Canada. But this double effort was beyond the organising power of those early days, and the New Yorkers never reached Montreal.

Frontenac, however, who had received warning, was well prepared for Phipps. He had strengthened the defences of Quebec and collected about 3,000 men, regulars, militia and Indian fighters behind them. As soon as his anchor was dropped, Phipps sent an envoy on shore with a flag of truce and a rather high-handed letter to Frontenac. The envoy was blindfolded on landing and then led through the lower trading town, and thence up to the heights above, where stood the official, monastic and military buildings, chief of which was the Fort or Castle of St. Louis, the headquarters of the Viceroy. Here, brought into the presence of Frontenac and a numerous staff, and his bandage removed, the messenger produced his letter, and proceeded by command to read aloud the imperious demands of the Boston skipper to that haughty commander and his martial following. These ran, in brief, that the city and all within it should be surrendered unconditionally.

On terminating this uncompromising announcement the envoy had at least sufficient nerve left to pull out his watch and give Frontenac an hour for decision. His indignant officers besought the Governor to hang the poor man at once, but Frontenac contented himself with refusing to recognise William as King of England at all, and with a few other contemptuous remarks concluded by stating that in no case was the message a suitable one for a man like Phipps to send to a man like Frontenac. On the envoy demanding a written reply, the Count peremptorily refused, declaring that he would answer the letter with his guns. So Phipps at once prepared to attack the town, landing his men at Beauport, just below Quebec on the north shore—a spot made famous in Wolfe's more successful siege seventy years later, while his ships bombarded the town from the water.

Quebec stands in the angle formed by the junction of the little River Charles with the St. Lawrence, and gets some protection from the smaller stream against an attack by the north shore, the only feasible landing-place for a hostile force. The half-disciplined New England men, farmers, tradesmen and fishermen, fought stubbornly, as they always did, in those as in after times, but their faulty organisation was not equal to capturing the strongest place in North America, manned as it was by a larger force than their own and commanded by an experienced general and trained officers. So after a few days of intermittent and costly attempts to fight their way into the town across the Charles River, during which several ships were sunk by the French fire, Phipps abandoned the enterprise, re-embarked his forces and sailed away back, a discomfited man, to the equally discomfited town of Boston, which had expended much money and enthusiasm on the expedition.

In the meantime there were two points in North America where the English had already gained a solid footing that seemed a direct menace to the interests of France. For both Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland were closely associated with the aspirations of either nation. The latter, as an island, and the nearest point of the continent to Europe, had fallen by an almost natural process into the hands of England long before the time we are now writing of. This was not so much due to the technical claim of discovery by the Cabots, as to other causes treated of in another portion of this volume (*v.* p. 213).

The English activities in Hudson's Bay, which then as always were confined to the fur-trade, touched the French of Canada more nearly than Newfoundland, for it brought their rivals on to the mainland, and into a region included in the domain claimed by France though severed at its nearest point from the French settlements by some five hundred miles of an impenetrable, inhospitable forest wilderness. Still more the enterprise encroached upon the Indian fur-trade which, in the eyes of the French King, gave Canada its chief value.

The Hudson's Bay Company owes its inception to the enterprise of seafaring commerce in the period following the Restoration. The great bay had been first explored by the English seaman Hudson in three separate voyages, the last of which proved fatal to him. Hence its name and its claim set up against that of France. Reports of French sailors visiting those seas, produced in support of the French claim, do not seem to have been authentic. Further voyages by Englishmen of a like nature had followed on Hudson's steps, but nothing more definite happened till 1668.

In that year a French-Canadian adventurer, by name Groselliers, failing encouragement from his own Government, brought his experience and its resultant schemes to the English market. He had been as far west as the present Minnesota and there heard from Indians of the great sea in the far north and its fur-trading possibilities. The interest of London merchants, supported by Prince Rupert, whose later years were much occupied in maritime science and enterprise, were thus aroused, and in 1670, with the Prince as its first Governor, the great trading company of the Hudson's Bay received its charter from the Crown. The vast and vaguely defined territory in which its operations were to be conducted received the name of Rupert's Land. The Company prospered from the first; forts and stations were erected on and about James Bay, which is only some 400 miles as the crow flies from Lake Superior. The furs were sold in London, and in a few years the shareholders were making 200 per cent. on their capital. An attitude of secrecy towards the public was observed from the very first by the Company and never wholly abandoned. This gave it an air of mystery and romance which in truth its personal records from that day to this have fully justified.

There is neither space nor occasion here to touch on the story of a trading company, however important and however vast the trackless wilderness, which in a purely commercial sense was tributary to it. But the French were always sore at this establishment of an alien fur-trade alongside their own to the northward, just as they were always jealous of the western encroachments of the traders from the English colonies to the southward. Bold adventurers from Canada from time to time found their way with incredible hardihood through trackless woods or by lake and stream to the shores of this remote northern sea, plundered one or other of the stations, and returned laden with booty and a band of prisoners in their labouring train. Armed ships of both nations occasionally fought desperate battles in these lonely seas, or their crews on shore contested for the occupation of isolated forts and stores, for the French themselves secured in time a temporary footing at various points. Though formal war was not held necessary to such colonial adventures, the Anglo-French struggle in Europe encouraged these semi-arctic hostilities, and enterprising Canadian seigneurs, ambitious of fame and with small means at home for acquiring it, performed many daring achievements against the English on the Bay. The brothers Le Moyne, particularly, won immortal fame upon those frigid shores and wrote with their swords the most romantic page in a story that, whether in peace or war, in early or in modern times, has always the flavour of romance.

The Hudson's Bay Company, however, as we know, weathered all these storms. Nor after all, despite the fears of earlier French-Canadian rulers, had it any share in the downfall of New France. All interests in it were formally adjured by France. For at the Treaty of Utrecht, which followed the successful wars of Marlborough, it became a recognised English possession. But Hudson's Bay only comes into Canadian history proper when, rather reluctantly, its directors bowed to the inevitable and handed over the north-western prairies for settlement half a century ago. It still retains its ports on its cold, far-away shores, and its far-sundered trading-stations through the great wilderness stretching westward from them, on which the most enterprising agriculturists have not yet cast, nor are ever likely to cast, an envious eye ; while in the abandonment on profitable terms of the vast habitable portions of its old prairie domains its shareholders have assuredly had no cause to complain.

After the death of Frontenac in 1698, whether in the long struggle in Europe between France and England or in the still longer peace always associated with the name of Walpole which followed, no outstanding events disturbed the rather hampered and restricted material progress of Canada. Few emigrants but priests and nuns went out from France after the opening of the new century. But the *habitants* were prolific, rudely prosperous and contented, and every traveller remarked on the superiority of their condition to the French peasants from whom they sprang. The long, narrow farms, with the one-storied, thatched house at the end, on road or river, which marked the method of French settlement, increased in number till in places the highway presented the appearance of one continuous village. This system made for sociability and mutual assistance in stress of work, and above all in times of danger, though somewhat inconvenient to workers from the disproportionate length to breadth in their comparatively small farms. Quebec and Montreal, which nearly represented the eastern and western limits of the settled colony, grew into towns of six or seven thousand souls, and within them a small bourgeois class of traders and the like arose alongside the priests, nuns, soldiers, and officials who were the prevailing element.

This is about all that can be said in a material way for Canada. Commerce and manufactures were strangled by bounties and restrictions, while the fur-trade was a royal monopoly. Among the official clique who held the colony in the hollow of their hand corruption and peculation became a matter of common practice. The Governor himself was usually free from the odious taint; but the Intendant and his parasites exercised every kind of fraud, levying toll on the funds and supplies that came from France, occasionally even to appropriating the latter and reselling them, in addition to juggling habitually with the domestic markets, the prices of which this custodian of the King's purse could fix or alter at will.

The populace, who seldom lacked any of the elementary needs of life, had no means of making their voice heard, even had they wished to. They were incredibly ignorant, and of an easy, light-hearted disposition, which was fortunate for a community snowed up for six months in the year. They sang old French chansons and danced when the Church would allow them to, which was not often; they kept alive, too, the old seventeenth-century vernacular of Northern France, as it may be heard among them to this day, with slight modifications.

The seigneurs varied as greatly in means and education as they did in origin. Some were within the circle of the little Viceregal court, were men of some polish and education, held posts under the Crown, or owned more productive estates.

Some again, as we have seen, established outposts on their own account near the English frontiers and became sort of free-lance fighters. Many, however, lived on their seigneuries, some of them in their simple manor-houses with the means of retaining a certain amount of rude feudal dignity, while others had little to distinguish them from their tenants.

All education was in the hands of the religious orders, and though mainly confined to the higher classes—for peasant education was against their code—it was on the whole adequate.

But, after all, this happy, priest- and seigneur-ridden Arcady only accounted for perhaps two-thirds of the population. For besides that contained in the little cities of Quebec and Montreal there was a quite important element which, in their own persons at any rate, felt few or none of these restrictions in Church or State. These were the men who ranged the wilderness which began at the very gates of Montreal, the entrepôt of all its far-fetched products and the western limit of organised domestic settlement. Most of them were engaged directly or indirectly in the service of the great fur-trading companies authorised by the Crown, wild and adventurous spirits who, in bark canoes, over lakes and rapids, or on their own backs through long woodland trails, bore fur-packs from remote trading-stations. Some were mere hunters and adventurers or illicit traders on their own account; often squatters in the tiny settlements that grew up around the many stockaded stations in the woods that represented at once the fur-trade and the territorial claims of France. Here at least they were free of official, seigneurial or priestly surveillance. For if a priest was to be found among them, his authority had obvious limitations. All this class were known under the generic term of *coureurs-des-bois*. This free life of the woods had a strong fascination for certain types of French-Canadian. The more restive spirits among the young habitants or in the towns found escape from the limitations and restrictions, secular and clerical, that the majority perhaps did not feel, and disappeared often for ever into the wilderness.

Then again there were the explorers and their following, with an abiding ardour for probing the secrets of the New World, extending the dominions of France, and with always the ulterior hope of lighting on some passage into the Pacific. It was chiefly men of birth that were the pioneers in these daring achievements, Canadian seigneurs or cadets of noble families in France. Champlain himself, besides his various journeys in and about Acadia and the St. Lawrence shores, had threaded on foot the western forests of what is now Ontario, and stood upon the shores of Lake Huron. Jolliet, a Canadian, with the Jesuit priest Marquette, in 1673, after traversing Lake Michigan, discovered the source of the Mississippi, followed the river down past the mouths of the Missouri and Arkansas into the regions claimed by Spain, and on his return camped upon the site of Chicago. The more famous La Salle, after other voyages of exploration, at last in 1682 followed the Mississippi through its whole course into the Gulf of Mexico, setting up from point to point, like all these French explorers, the arms of France stamped on leaden plates.

About the same time the Sieur de L'hut from old France devoted himself to similar work. He traversed Lake Superior and lived for years about its western end, where now stands the busy town of Fort William. Thence he explored the four hundred miles of shaggy, sterile, water-threaded wilderness to the westward till he stood upon the shores of the Red River of the North, and, from where Winnipeg now stands, looked out upon the flat and fertile prairies. Radisson, a Protestant, who afterwards placed his knowledge and services at the disposal of the Hudson's Bay Company, spent years between Lakes Michigan and the Upper Mississippi. In the early eighteenth century de la Verendrye, a French officer who had been wounded at Malplaquet, took to the wild west in middle life and with his sons and nephew penetrated the whole north-western prairies for eight hundred miles west of the present Winnipeg, and were the first white men to set eyes upon the Rocky Mountains. All these vast territories were claimed for France by her adventurous sons. As early as 1671 Talon, the first and the ablest of Canadian Intendants, had despatched St. Lusson to take formal possession of the whole west in the name of the King. This he did with the utmost ceremony at that now familiar spot whence the traffic of Lake Huron passes into Lake Superior by the great ship-canal, out beside the rapids of the Sault St. Marie. Here thousands of Indians from the various surrounding tribes were assembled, whose chiefs solemnly affixed their marks to a document declaring Louis XIV to be lord of all the Continent of North America from sea to sea, in token of which a column was raised and the French arms affixed to it.

All this was a strange contrast to the flourishing English colonies on the sea-board, which, like Old England, had quite recently settled, even to more than one clash of arms, that Charles II and not Parliament was their lawful suzerain. They were certainly not worrying much about Louis XIV in Massachusetts or Virginia. But the time was to come when the leaden plates of these daring Frenchmen and the trails of these prodigious voyages were to mean a good deal to the less venturesome, but far more prosperously established, merchants, farmers and planters of the English colonies, and to plunge the Northern Continent into years of fierce international war.

IV

FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN NOVA SCOTIA

More schemes to take Quebec had been laid in Boston but had failed prematurely in attempts to execute them. But Acadia, henceforward Nova Scotia, since passing nominally into the hands of Great Britain, had been more troublesome than when it actually belonged to France. For the English Government failed even in the ordinary obligations of administration. It was represented by a company of New England infantry, stationed in a broken-down fort at Annapolis Royale under a commander with the title of Governor. For the rest the province was occupied in its settled parts by the old Acadians, while Micmac and Abenaki Indians roamed at will through its forests. The Acadians, save for quite natural religious and racial prejudices against their new masters, were, as we have seen, simple and ignorant folk who, for themselves, wanted nothing more than to be left in peace to their religious and domestic felicities, their primitive agriculture and prolific fisheries.

But this did not suit the French Government. Its policy was to promote discontent with the British, and thereby keep the national spirit alive against that someday recovery of Acadia which was never lost sight of. The Indians scarcely needed the prompting of the French to stimulate their anti-British instincts. For on the neighbouring mainland of Northern New England (now Maine) these same tribes were in frequent conflict with the settlers and had more than once received heavy and deserved punishment from organised expeditions. Still, if Nova Scotia had merely remained the home of a few thousand primitive Acadians and capricious Indians left to their own devices, New Englanders and others would no doubt have soon succeeded in effecting its peaceful penetration and all would have been well. But as it was, few settlers were likely to risk a hostility that included the scalping-knife, until some Government existed strong enough to protect them. This hostility was sedulously fanned by agents from Quebec, mainly priests, and, seeing the leniency of English rule, or rather the virtual absence of any rule, it required strong meat in the way of lies to frighten these self-contained, unsophisticated peasants into overt acts against such English settlers as had ventured on their shores. But it was not long before there arose a more formidable obstacle to English rule in Nova Scotia than these sporadic outrages. For in 1720 the French Government, who, it will be remembered, had been left in possession of Cape Breton Island, the northern fragment of the province, began to erect these immense fortifications which, for a brief span of years, were to become a place of supreme importance in the Anglo-French struggle for mastery in North America.

Now when Newfoundland had become definitely English ground, many of the French fishermen had deserted it for Cape Breton, then called Isle-Royale. Their chief point of settlement had become the village of Louisbourg, seated on the spacious harbour with its narrow entrance which came to bear that name. It faced the Atlantic and at the same time commanded the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Foreseeing the coming struggle, France set about creating at this vital spot a naval and military station at once impregnable to attack and a convenient base whence to strike at her foes. She enclosed the town which soon arose, to become known as " the Dunkirk of the North," with fortifications designed by Vauban, costing the incredible sum, for those days, of two million sterling, and planted there a governor, a large garrison and a naval base, which soon attracted a considerable civil population.

Among the incidental duties of this new station was that of making English government in Nova Scotia impossible by inciting the Indians and Acadians to deeds of outrage and murder. They had not much scope for such pastime inside the province, as there were hardly any English there. So they rather incautiously set about to harass the New Englanders on their own adjoining coasts. This was done to such effect that in 1726 the New Englanders paid a return visit to the Abenaki Indians and dealt them a blow from which they never recovered. In 1745, when the War of the Spanish Succession had brought France and England again to blows, the New Englanders, in whose side Louisbourg continued to be a perpetual thorn, took matters into their own hands and came to the bold determination of wiping out the most strongly fortified town in North America. They made no mistakes this time such as had marred their efforts more than once against Quebec. They mustered a force of 4,000 local militia under an amateur but popular and courageous commander, Colonel Pepperrall, supported by a small British squadron under Admiral Warren. The siege lasted forty days and makes a stirring tale of dash and endurance on the part of these raw soldiers, who dragged the ship's guns into position and served them in support of their own infantry attacks till at the end of six weeks the town surrendered. The terms of capitulation included the immediate removal of the garrison and population to France, which was duly carried out, and Louisbourg and Cape Breton passed into English hands. The news of this achievement, more particularly coming as it did at a period of gloom following on Fontenoy and the Jacobite rising in Great Britain, made a great stir and set all the joy-bells of the island ringing. The French on their part were dismayed at so unlooked-for a catastrophe and sent out more than one naval expedition to attempt its recovery, but they were baffled, either by tempests or English fleets. Their efforts, however, might have been spared, for at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 the English Government, regardless of North Atlantic interests, yielded to the determination of the French to have it back. For the next ten years, as a great French stronghold, it continued to make the settlement of Nova Scotia impossible outside the limits of the town of Halifax, which the English Government had recently founded on the Atlantic shore, the side remote from the Acadian occupation.

The British Government, having given up the key to Nova Scotia in return for French concessions in India, now set about to create a counterpoise to Louisbourg. In 1749, under official auspices, the town of Halifax was founded within a fine natural harbour upon the Atlantic shore. The undertaking was for those days upon a large scale. Inducements were held out, assistance in various ways was given, and within a brief period some 4,000 settlers, half of them disbanded soldiers with their wives and children, were permanently established in the new town and its vicinity. About the same time 2,000 Swiss and German Protestants were settled at Lunenburg, on the coast just south of Halifax. A proportion of these soldier-settlers proved naturally quite unsuitable, but on the whole Halifax proved a success from the start. It became at once and has always remained overwhelmingly the dominant town in a Province destined to a quietly prosperous future, singularly free from the troublous times both in war and peace which periodically afflicted all its contemporary States, whether French or English, in North America.

Indeed, Nova Scotia had all its troubles in this first decade following its second birth as a British Province. For up till the founding of Halifax, as we have seen, it was such only in name. But no sooner was the town established than the French officials at Louisbourg set to work to make settlement outside its immediate neighbourhood impossible. The Indians and their Acadian accomplices from the western shore, itself only some sixty miles distant, were stirred up to renewed outrage on all unprotected settlers.

The priests from Louisbourg and even Quebec were the chief agents in this crusade which ultimately proved so disastrous to the Acadians themselves, who, if let alone, would have quietly accepted a Government which neither worried nor even taxed them, nor had any intention of disturbing their ancient peace. Credulous as children, they fell a ready prey to the fables diligently circulated by French emissaries as to the sinister treatment which the English had in store for them. Moreover, at the isthmus of Chignecto, which joins the Province to the mainland, then still French territory, French and British forts had been planted against one another on a vaguely determined boundary line. And as this last was near the Acadian settlements, the people were frequently involved in overt acts against the British during the small conflicts which occurred between the military stations during the uneasy period that merged into the Seven Years' War.

It would be futile to criticise the French policy. Its intentions were frank enough, even if some of its methods seemed dubious and some of its agents rather scoundrels. It proved fatal at any rate to the wretched Acadians, who were handled rather as tools than as objects of paternal concern. The Peace was regarded on all sides as but an armed truce. France was determined some day to regain Acadia, and the Acadians were made to believe that English rule was but temporary. When these intrigues had first begun, the Acadians had been required to take an oath of allegiance to the British Government with the reservation that they should not be called to take up arms against the French. By the treaty of 1713, when Acadia was ceded to England, the inhabitants had been offered the alternative of leaving the Province within a year or taking this oath; and practically all of them chose the latter. In quiet times, with a new generation, this lip-tribute had been rather carelessly exacted. But later on the situation of the English Government under such conditions became impossible. It had now to rule in a province in which it had ruled only too little, and, at a period of inter-racial friction stirred up by outside intrigue and with the prospect of approaching war, to distinguish between friends and foes.

Colonel Charles Lawrence was at this time Governor, and took the only course possible under the circumstances in exacting a fresh oath from the whole population, not an extreme demand from a materialised ignorant community that for forty years had enjoyed complete freedom from all interference. For neither taxes, corvées, rents nor dues, nor military service, which were exacted from the Quebec French, came near these people. But since the creation of Louisbourg they had been cajoled, intimidated, befooled by French emissaries, and no appeals from Lawrence, with repeated and deferred opportunity for repentance, had produced any effect on the bulk of them.

At last, in 1755, after Braddock's defeat had sounded the first note of serious war, Lawrence lost patience and put forth an ultimatum, giving a last alternative between the oath of allegiance and deportation. For with war actually begun, here was a Province in the occupation of people, not merely British subjects, but most born under the British flag, yet obviously prepared to assist its enemies in the coming struggle for possession. Such a situation was ridiculous. This final demand, however, was rejected by most of the Acadians, who had even been made to believe that their salvation in the next world would be imperilled by yielding to it! Furthermore, the long forbearance of the Government had made them discredit the actual performance of its threat. These wretched people, however, were soon to be undeceived. Each of their villages, on a day privately determined on, was surrounded by New England troops from the recently increased garrisons, and the inhabitants, save the few who had taken the oath, or such as had fled to the woods, were marched *en masse* to the shore. The unfortunate Acadians were thunderstruck and, in their despair, freely offered to subscribe to the oath. Lawrence replied that it was too late and that such an oath was worth nothing. The vessels for their transportation were in waiting, and though the business was protracted through several weeks, some 6,000 in all were deported. They were taken to various ports in the British colonies, to Canada and New Orleans. It was a miserable business, but it was only resorted to when all other means had been exhausted and ample warning repeated over and over again.

There is no space for the longdrawn details which preceded the incident, but the odium of the business must chiefly fall on the French authorities who, for their own purposes, drove these simple folk to their ruinous decision. Homesick, ignorant and quite unsuited for transportation, the future of most of them proved a miserable one. A certain number who had defied the priests and taken the oath were left in peace. Many too had escaped to the woods or across the bay. Others again, the most fortunate, in course of time found their way back again. In all perhaps four or five thousand Acadians contrived in one way or another to remain in or return to the Province and form the nucleus of that French element which has continued in Nova Scotia to this day, and now represents an uninfluential tenth of the population.

We cannot here follow the fortunes of the others, the hapless exiles. It is enough that more kindness was shown them in the English colonies than by their own people in Quebec, though a large tract of country near New Orleans is to-day populated by their prosperous descendants. Longfellow's rather misleading hexameters in " Evangeline " have familiarised the world with this distressing incident from its emotional side. But a candid investigation of contemporary evidence and of the facts relating to these people tends to no little modification of the poet's point of view. The war, however, though not yet openly declared in Europe, had now fairly begun in North America, and was to end in the expulsion from it of the French power, leaving Nova Scotia to develop at peace and leisure under British rule.

V

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN NORTH AMERICA

Now, by this mid-eighteenth century, the French, represented by their successive officials in Canada and backed by the Home Government, had realised more fully than the English what the American West portended. Their daring explorers had revealed its secrets to an extent unapproached by the English colonists. French Canada was none too fertile and had a rigorous climate, all of which made for restlessness among its more adventurous spirits and added another incentive to that of a taste for high adventure. How far thoughts of practical settlement in these vast spaces, whose fertility they had seen, were in their mind one may not say. We know that a few of them had such dreams and deplored the insane anti-Protestant policy to which they were committed. But it is probable that the control of the western trade and the glory of France were the chief factors in their determination to secure the illimitable West which lay, wrapped in almost unbroken solitude, behind the English colonies, and to hem these latter in to their present limitations upon the Atlantic coast.

The position of the English colonies at this crisis in the world's history, so little realised by most of the actors in it, was as follows. The New England Provinces and to some extent that of New York "marched" with Canada, on the line, or mainly so, of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes of Ontario and Erie, beyond which no interference with the French claim was contemplated. South of New York and the adjoining little sea-board Province of New Jersey, those of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia trailed away down the Atlantic coast to Louisiana and Florida ; the last two on the Gulf of Mexico being French and Spanish respectively, with ill-defined boundaries. The back-door of these six English Provinces opened as it were into the Great West. Their natural course of expansion lay westward when they were ready for it, which was hardly yet. Moreover, the long chain of the Allegheny Mountains, running almost parallel with the Atlantic, lay at the back of all and provided a natural barrier to their westward extension till such time as the pressure of an increasing population impelled them to cross it.

The time was not yet quite ripe. There was still ample room behind the old sea-board settlements for the pioneering farmers and backwoodsmen, without occasion to fight their way into the Indian-haunted wilderness that lay behind this deep, many-furrowed mountain range. All the waters of this western trans-montane country, from almost as far northward as the great Canadian lakes, ran into the Ohio and thence into the Mississippi. The French had traversed the whole of them ; had launched their canoes in small streams near their own border, to float out ultimately on to the broad waters of the Mississippi and land on their own southern territory of New Orleans. They saw in this great central belt, richer than the English colonies and far richer than their own Canada, a mighty link between New France on the St. Lawrence and the smaller New France at the mouth of the Mississippi ; and they intended to have it and hold it and to keep the English permanently wedged in between the mountains and the sea.

They cultivated the friendship of the Western Indians and persuaded them to hail the King of France as their " Father Onontio," from whom in such case all good things would come. The English fur-traders had, to be sure, been long afoot in this western wilderness, and had proved obstructive, as they could undersell the French. But the latter were able with perfect truth to warn the savages against a nation who would sooner or later take their land for farming and destroy their hunting-grounds, whereas they themselves had no designs whatever of this kind, but merely wished to trade with them, to protect them against the approach of the devastating English, and to share with them the showers of good things that fell from their common " Father."

It was a splendid dream that the Powers for the moment in control of France and Canada were cherishing. A Briton, at any rate, should be the last to fail in appreciation of it. It is now long forgotten, even in France, but it came much nearer fruition than a survey of the situation and resources of the two nations in America at that time might suggest. Had France only remained true to herself in the great endeavour, who shall say what the end might have been or what the future of North America? As it was, she turned aside in the middle of her task with fatal weakness and lost not only what she aimed at but what she already had.

As for the British Colonies, content and prosperous within their ample bounds, ignorant and even jealous of one another, they were profoundly indifferent to dim prospects in a wilderness they knew little or nothing about. Only the New Englanders and Anglo-Dutch New Yorkers had any contact with the French, and that was in the way of border fighting, for neither Province opened to the West. The Virginians had a paper land-company or two beyond the Alleghenies: remote, trifling interests of small public concern. But incidentally it was on their account that the first blow was struck, and that first spark fell in the backwoods which, as Horace Walpole declared, " set the world on fire."

The population of the British Colonies was then barely a million and a half, with two or three hundred thousand negro slaves, while that of Canada was under seventy thousand. But Canada was more or less a military organisation, strengthened by a garrison of several French regiments. It was under autocratic rulers that could strike when they liked and where they listed with vigour and precision. The British Colonies, on the other hand, were a group of self-governing republics under civilian governors who had very little power. The New England Provinces alone had a tolerable militia, some capacity for organisation and some experience in fighting, as we have seen.

But the others, which would be chiefly affected by a French occupation of the West, had none of these things. They were quite unmartial, had no active militia worth mentioning, and small powers of organisation. They were absorbed in planting and farming or quarrelling with their respective governors on small financial matters. But they were thoroughly satisfied with their condition, were Church of England men intolerant of dissent, followed field sports, and enjoyed a sort of patriarchal sociability, caring nothing for soldiering or adventure—Pennsylvania excepted. They were oligarchies supported by slavery rather than democracies, for outside the larger landowners there was next to no education ; and the mass of small farmers among them, or those clearing new counties in their rear, though possessed of votes, were up till the Revolutionary war quite conscious of class distinction and amenable to class influences. North Carolina conformed less to this type than the other " planting " colonies, being rougher and more democratic.

Pennsylvania differed entirely from the colonies to the south of it and in many respects from those to the north. Founded by Penn, it was of more recent date than the others, but had developed rapidly under the industry of Quakers and German immigrants. Philadelphia too was in some respects a more complete city than either Boston or Charleston, then the two foremost in the Colonies. The country was mainly occupied by freehold working farmers, and was throughout more or less democratic, the Germans clinging to their own customs, and the much more influential Quaker citizens pronounced and tenacious in their peculiar views—one of which, it is needless to remark, was opposition to war of any kind.

But in this brief glance at the American Colonies in 1754 one body of people must not be overlooked, i.e. the Ulster Presbyterians, who, under the short-sighted treatment dealt out to them by English and Irish Parliaments and their own landlords, had been pouring over to America in thousands ever since the beginning of the century. They had nothing in common with the Catholic Irish of the South and West, who made no appreciable appearance in America till the nineteenth century, when they swarmed into the big cities and there incidentally created those unsavoury political conditions that have been the scandal of the United States for half a century.

These people, the Scotch-Irish as the Americans call them, were quite different. They were of virile Anglo-Scottish stock, which had colonised much of Ulster in the early seventeenth century, and had a standing grievance in the disabilities under which a suicidal Government policy had placed the non-conforming Protestants of Ireland.[1] They were a stern, hardy, Puritanical people and, as if to avoid all further risk of injustice at the hands of any Church or State, had thrown themselves at once beyond the reach of either possibility.

They preferred to face the wilderness and the Indians and, reinforced by a stream that flowed steadily for half a century from the ports of Derry and Belfast, were by this time stretched in a thin line all along the eastern base of the Alleghenies from Pennsylvania inclusive to the Carolinas. Thus, beyond the ordinary backwoods settlements of five Colonies, the bulk of these Scotch-Irish pioneers, as hunters, Indian fighters and farmers, remained for long a people to themselves : for a generation or two the vanguard of civilisation and defence against the Indian ; in a later one to cross the mountains and take a lead in founding the great States beyond them.

A small handful of persons in the British Colonies saw the war-cloud approaching from Canada and the dangers that lurked in it, but they were regarded as cranks or faddists. Among these few, however, there were two prominent men possessed of a clearer vision. One was Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, the other Dinwiddie, the Governor of Virginia. New England was familiar with the French as an hereditary border foe by land and sea, but New England had no western hinterland. Dinwiddie was doing the thinking for Provinces which had, but could not or would not realise that their advance was about to be blocked, and all the western savages turned into permanent enemies at their gate, by a Power they had never seriously considered.

The French since 1752 had followed up their claim by pushing a chain of forts southward from Lake Erie into the Ohio basin. This had greatly impressed the Western Indians, who, in the failure of the English to resent it, or to reply by like measures, saw a confirmation of the French boasts that they were going to drive them into the sea. French prestige rose, while that of England sank among all the tribes of the West. Even the Five Nations began to waver—and their defection would be bad indeed ! For the superior genius of the five, or more precisely six, nations, both in diplomacy and war, though numbering barely two thousand fighting men, made them respected and feared to the uttermost limits of that Indian world already conscious of the white man's activities. And it may need the further reminder here that the Red Indian of those days was not an ill-armed, undisciplined foe. The traders of both nations had seen to the first condition, while as a warrior in his own trackless woods his method of fighting was most formidable to Europeans. He used firearms with the skill of a backwoodsman. He knew no fear, but enhanced the value of his courage by never sacrificing himself needlessly. At taking cover, tracking an enemy, laying an ambush, or marching without food, he far surpassed the white man. Nor did civilisation at that time enjoy any superiority in armaments that would count for much in a backwoods fight.

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[1] The Dublin Parliament rather than the English Government was responsible for retaining these laws ; but the movement was greatly stimulated by ship-owners and immigration agents.

VI

THE ANGLO-FRENCH WAR, 1753

On the pretext that the rights of English traders were being interfered with by the French military occupation of ground within the British sphere, Dinwiddie now made his formal protest. In this he had the sanction of the British Government and was permitted, if necessary, to oppose force with force and even to erect forts at the expense of his colony. There was no available armed force to speak of, and he could get no money out of his Legislature to raise one. So he had to be content with sending an ultimatum to the recently-erected French forts to the south of Lake Erie. It is one of the ironies of history that young George Washington should have been selected as the fittest man in Virginia to perform this mission of danger, delicacy and hardship and formally to proclaim King George's title to the West. He was then, though but twenty-one, Adjutant-General of Virginia Militia, such as it was. It took his little party three months to achieve their task. The French officers at the Forts, as his journal tells us, were polite but uncompromising; "they would take the country and by G—d they would keep it." These events took place in 1753, and both Governments were now committed to an armed occupation of the same territory. The French were ready with men and money, the support of the Indian tribes, and strong in a united purpose. The Colonial Legislatures most concerned remained supine, quarrelling with their Governors over trifles, while Pennsylvania, with its Quakers and Germans, was averse from arming even in self-defence.

The strategic point of all the western country became by common consent that angle where the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers unite to form the Ohio—i.e. the region where Pittsburg now stands. Both the French and Dinwiddie were equally determined to occupy it. The Governor at last wrung a small appropriation from the Virginians and despatched into these wild woods 300 militia with Washington as Major and a few Crown-paid ineffectives from South Carolina. It was an unfortunate if picturesque adventure. They were attacked by a superior French force seventy miles short of their destination and after a stubborn defence and considerable loss surrendered, with permission to labour their inglorious way back to Virginia. The French in the meantime erected the strong fort of Duquesne, named after the then Governor of Canada, at the above-named meeting of the rivers, occupied it in strength and made it the base of all their western operations.

It was now evident that the colonial forces would be useless of themselves against the French menace. So in the following year (1755) there arrived in Virginia that British force under General Braddock which was to be for ever so disastrously associated with their unfortunate commander's name. It consisted of the 44th and 48th Regiments, with some gunners and engineers, the first considerable body of British regulars that had ever landed on North American soil. Their headquarters were at Alexandria, to-day a good-sized town just across the Potomac from Washington. Braddock had been informed that all transport would be provided by the Virginians. He found nothing, and wore out his time and his temper endeavouring to stimulate their co-operation. Ultimately Benjamin Franklin, then Postmaster-General of Pennsylvania, came to the rescue and compelled the apathetic farmers of his own province to provide horses and wagons. Dinwiddie had done what he could, and young Washington was attached to Braddock's staff, with a few hundred militia from Virginia, Maryland and New York.

Fort Duquesne was the goal of the enterprise. It lay some 130 miles within the forest wilderness, and the army would have to cut its way there over a rugged, stream-riven, timbered country. This was the first expedition of a kind so frequent in later times ever attempted in a far-off country by a British Government. Braddock, though of no great talent, had a good reputation in Europe as a disciplinarian and a sound and sensible officer. He has been much maligned by American writers in irresponsible and illogical fashion, followed by many in this country who have taken no steps to form an opinion of their own.

The task set to Braddock was without precedent in British military history. The colonists themselves, who had no experience on such a scale, were free enough with criticism, but backward with assistance. They did not like Braddock personally, and in face of the slackness of the upper class, the dishonesty of contractors and horse jockeys that he was confronted with, it is hardly surprising that he did not like them and probably showed it. The column, consisting of nearly 2,000 men, including 500 mixed colonial irregulars, started on June 7, encumbered by a mass of cattle, horses and wagons, and of food and forage indispensable on the march and to the garrison to be left at Fort Duquesne when captured. Progress was abnormally slow. In a fortnight they were not half-way, and it was then that Braddock decided to push on with 1,200 regulars and 200 provincials, leaving the rest with all superfluous encumbrances to follow at leisure under Dunbar, his second-in-command.

By July 9 he was within a few miles of Fort Duquesne; progress was easier, and he hoped to attack it the next day. The troops had just forded the Monongahela, and were marching with all the precaution that had been consistently observed, the scouts ahead, the road-clearers next, the guns following, when the scouts and mounted vedettes came in rapidly, signalling the presence of an enemy force in the woods immediately behind them. This proved to be some 600 Indians, 70 French regulars and 150 French Canadians from Fort Duquesne, all under de Beaujeu. Its garrison, supposed to be strong, was in fact the reverse. It had indeed abandoned hope with the approach of Braddock's column, and de Beaujeu led out his light-footed force with small expectation of seriously checking the advance or saving the fort. When his men sprang into action behind Braddock's retiring scouts and when the Indian war-whoop, at this its first dreadful hearing, rose from many hundred throats, it was a trying moment for English soldiers. But it did not shake them. The few field-pieces fired their grape-shot, and the front ranks delivered two or three volleys of musketry with precision.

It was just then a fateful moment. De Beaujeu fell dead and the Canadians ran, crying "Sauve qui peut." The Indians, scared by the artillery, were on the point of flight, when Dumas, who tells us all this and more, assumed the lead and rallied them. These and a few Frenchmen threw themselves into cover upon the front and flanks of the British, and with every man concealed opened a deadly fire upon the massed troops, who, utterly unfamiliar with such a situation, could only reply by wild volleys into the surrounding bush. The officers vainly sacrificed themselves by leading futile charges against these nimble unseen marksmen. It soon became a mere slaughter. The catastrophe was, in truth, no one's fault, unless indeed that of the British Government for sending troops trained only in European methods to fight Indians in the wild woods.

Braddock had not, as generally asserted, fallen into an ambush or neglected any precautions, and he now behaved like a lion; but it was of no avail. In the scorching, powder-laden, July heat, and sweltering in their tight, heavy uniforms, the hapless red-coats had no chance. The few provincials who were guarding the baggage in the rear, not covering the British retreat, as a hardy fiction sometimes has it, took cover and suffered less. Washington was by Braddock's side, when at last the latter fell, after two hours of this orgy, from his fifth horse, with a ball through his lungs. And then, all at once, the stampede began, back over the wide ford and along the forest trail, so recently and confidently trodden. The dying Braddock was borne along with it in a litter. There was no pursuit, the scalps and plunder were too tempting. Out of 89 officers 63 had fallen, and of 1,300 rank and file only some 500 escaped. The dead were scalped and their bodies left to be devoured by wolves; the wounded carried away to death by torture, a ceremony of vital importance with the Indians.

The fugitives, mostly without arms and accoutrements, reached their distant base at Fort Cumberland in scattered groups, while Braddock was buried midway under the forest leaves, Washington reading the funeral service.

"Braddock's defeat," as posterity has always termed it, resounded throughout North America to its uttermost known limits and staggered the English public at home, who were not then thinking of war. It destroyed the colonial belief in the invincibility of British soldiers, based on their reputation in far-off European battlefields, while the effect on the Indian world was immediate and calamitous. For the frontier settlements of the middle colonies were abandoned to an orgy of fire and slaughter that lasted for two years, and the pioneering labours of a generation were wiped out. Canada was triumphant, though Canadians individually had not very much to do with

Braddock's defeat—which was mainly an Indian battle. They had in truth been threatened at home by combined movements of the English, which accounted for the unexpectedly small, though only too effective, garrison at Fort Duquesne. But we must now leave these middle-Atlantic colonies striving to pull themselves together in defence against the far-flung Indian attack, led by Frenchmen, on their tortured frontiers, and return to Canada and the affairs of the North.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil had recently arrived as Governor, and as he remained till the capitulation he marks an epoch in Canadian history that has conferred upon him a rather dubious fame. He succeeded two or three soldierly and public-spirited men, full of the great scheme for North American supremacy. He cherished it himself, but was no soldier—though he thought he was. But he was a man of untiring activity, a keen and even jealously patriotic Canadian, having, as son of a former Governor, been born in the colony. He inherited the Western ambitions of his school with a corresponding hostility towards the English, more particularly as represented by her colonists. Unfortunately, whether corrupt or not himself, he more than tolerated the official group who co-operated with him in the Government, had debauched a large following in their pay and were the biggest set of rascals that even Quebec had ever suffered under; Bigot, the Intendant, is indeed to this day the villain of all French-Canadian story.

But Vaudreuil was at least a patriot. He had brought with him 3,000 regular troops to supplement the 2,000 already maintained in the colony. The Militia, to the number of about 15,000, had been mobilised and were excellent in forest warfare or behind entrenchments. The Canadian Indians too were all available in war, while for transport the numerous *coureurs-des-bois* were invaluable. Louisbourg again had a large garrison with the fierce Micmac and Abenaki Indians at their disposal, and, lastly, the Western Indians were devastating the English frontiers. Even the Five Nations were wavering before the success of the French. This last catastrophe was only averted by one of those Britons who happily arise from time to time with an inborn genius for swaying native races. Sir William Johnson, as he now became, lived far up the Mohawk Valley in semi-feudal style, and was the master of every art for gaining the red man's loyalty and respect—a sort of self-constituted Resident Commissioner for the British Colonies with the Five Nations. On this occasion his powers were severely tested, though they proved successful and saved the situation for the Government.

There had been, early in this year, a meeting of representatives of the British Colonies to concert measures against the impending danger, assembled by Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, who was more actively alive to it than any man in the North. He was a shrewd and able man and had better and more willing material to work with than poor Dinwiddie. This resulted in two expeditions against Canada, not at that early period with any definite idea of conquest, but as a reply to French action in the West. Unfortunately, however, private papers relating to their designs were discovered in Braddock's baggage in time for the Canadians to make the requisite preparations.

Now, there were two great natural arteries of approach to Canada from the English Colonies, indeed the only possible ones for large and encumbered bodies of men. Both started from Albany, then a Dutch trading-town some hundred miles due north up the navigable Hudson from New York. They were the lines of attack and defence throughout this and all succeeding wars; particularly the main route, which, following the Hudson for some distance farther, struck overland for a dozen miles and then tapped the head waters of Lake George. Thence, with a short " carry " around rapids, Lake Champlain, emptying into the Richelieu River, gave ready access to the St. Lawrence near Montreal. The whole route lies straight as a ruler from Albany, and indeed from New York. The other and secondary trail ran due west up the Mohawk River from Albany to Oneida Lake and thence with a " carry " over the watershed, descended to the eastern end of Lake Ontario by the Oswego River, with an English trading-station at its mouth. This southern lake shore within range of the Five Nations was claimed by the English, though under protest from the French. Sixty miles across the lake end, where Kingston now stands, was the fortified post of Frontenac where, in view of coming events, a large body of French troops was now concentrated.

On the Lakes George and Champlain route the head of the former was fortified English ground, while the most southerly outpost of the French was at Crown Point, near the head of Lake Champlain. Both these war-routes then ran through unbroken forests, the one by the lakes between the Adirondacks and the Green Mountains and the other up the Mohawk Valley to Lake Ontario. The aim of either side, always difficult of execution, was to penetrate them, capture the enemies' strongholds of defence by the way and attack his home-country behind. Albany lay at the corner of a right-angled triangle, the northward line running to Montreal and the St. Lawrence, the base westward to Lake Ontario, the third or oblique line being formed by the St. Lawrence and the Canadian border. This fragment of topography is here ventured, as every war treated of in this little work has its theatre more or less upon these lines. Nature permitted of no serious alternative for anything larger than bands of Indians or Rangers.

Shirley found ample support in the more warlike northern colonies, but there were no really trained leaders. For the rest there were raw colonial troops in Crown pay and the equally raw New England militia. He organised however two expeditions, one up the Mohawk, the other up the lake route. Though a civilian, he had military ambition, and, much gratified with the commission of General conferred on him by the Crown, took command himself of his Mohawk venture at the head of 1,500 men. His design, operating by water from Oswego, was the capture of the great French trading-post and fort at Niagara. The other command, consisting of about 3,000 New England militia and a body of Indians, was given to Johnson, also a fervent amateur soldier. Its aim was to build forts at the head of Lake George and proceed thence to an attack on the French frontier fort Crown Point.

Both failed in their object. Shirley reached Oswego, but on learning that an equal French force was at Frontenac across the lake, recognised that an attack on distant Niagara would be leaving Oswego at its mercy. So, strengthening its fortifications and leaving half his force as a winter garrison, he returned to Albany. Baron Dieskau, the General now commanding in Canada, occupied Crown Point with 2,500 Frenchmen, regulars and militia and a thousand Indians. A forty-mile length of lake lay between him and Johnson. Descending it, he attacked the latter while at work on the new forts of Edward and William Henry, which were to guard the land-trail from the Hudson to Lake George; and there was a good deal of fighting with varying result. Dieskau's final attack, however, was routed and he himself wounded and taken prisoner. This achievement earned Johnson his baronetcy and a bounty, and in the lack of success then accruing to British arms he was known to the wags of London as "our only hero." But neither French nor English had accomplished any of their aggressive aims, and both relapsed into fort-building till the snow and ice of winter closed all further action.

In May of the following year, 1756, war was formally declared between France and England. France was now in virtual possession of the whole West south of the Great Lakes with every apparent prospect of retaining it. Canada, strong in her great natural defences and none the less secure for an outside reputation for climatic rigour and infertility scarcely deserved, seemed almost impregnable. So far the British colonists, with few exceptions, were despised as a military factor. Wrung from a dozen reluctant jealous legislatures, the militiaman came from his farm, his shop or his fishing-boat for a rigidly restricted period. He elected his own officers, with the inevitable effect on discipline, and with the autumn, sometimes even at the harvest, returned home.

Every season the whole business had to be started afresh, and half the short summer was usually over before an Anglo-American force was ready to march. Under strong provocation the sturdy New Englanders were capable of worthy achievements, as at Quebec under Frontenac in its weaker days, and still more at Louisbourg. As to the southern colonies, the rank and file of the militia, though not democratic, were of inferior fibre, while the upper class were backward in military leadership and enterprise. There were a few small, ill-disciplined provincial companies paid by the Crown and more valuable bodies of picked "Rangers," collected in war from backwoodsmen, Indian fighters and hunters. But it was quite evident that the Canadians had little to fear, whether at home or in their hold on the west, from any unaided colonial efforts, while the colonists, unsupported by British troops, were almost at the mercy of their French neighbours, for efforts at combination had proved abortive. Whatever force might thwart French aims in the west—for the safety of Canada itself seemed then assured—must come from British arms; and the British army at home had recently been reduced to 20,000 men!

VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR CANADA

France, with Canada as an effective agent under a military despotism ruling a hardy, docile people, now held a strong hand for a forward American movement, when French policy took a sudden and disastrous turn. Had this last succeeded, and the rising power of Prussia been crushed, future events might have justified this abandonment of her North American aspirations. But such remote contingencies as a Prussianised, all-conquering Germany were assuredly not within the vision of Louis XV and his ministers, or we should rather say his mistress, for Madame de Pompadour was for the moment Mistress of France as well. It was not likely that this lady could divine the future significance of the Mississippi and Ohio basin or give it even a thought. She had been grossly insulted by Frederick, like Catherine of Russia, who perhaps deserved it even more, while Maria Theresa had been robbed of Silesia.

So if the Seven Years' War was not wholly due to the justifiable wrath of a despoiled Empress and the spite of two concubines, as was vulgarly said, one of the latter, at any rate, had much to do with it as regards France. There is no need to touch on the further reasons for this change of policy, but in the retrospect they seem trifling in comparison with what France flung away when she joined Austria and Russia in their attempt to crush Frederick and his little kingdom of five million souls. Moreover, she thoroughly alarmed England, already pin-pricked in America, by this formidable and menacing alliance, and provoked her to a conflict waged whole-heartedly in the double interests of a European and colonial war. It would doubtless have been no easy matter to stir the ardour of military circles in France by prospects of backwoods fighting and backwoods hardships in North America. To the swarm of lesser noblesse whose swords were their fortune summer campaigns in Germany and opportunities for distinction under the eye of the Court and public were infinitely more alluring. No doubt the disastrous *volte-face* of the King's policy was welcome enough to the army at large; only a few far-sighted men felt its significance and counted the cost. In the spring of 1756, however, the Marquis de Montcalm was despatched to Quebec with two more regiments to avert at least the catastrophe, not yet anticipated by either side, and to shed immortal honour on the close of an almost hopeless struggle.

Montcalm was a type of French nobleman becoming all too scarce at that day: a landowner from the South, uncontaminated by Court life, a brave, skilful and veteran soldier, and the soul of honour. He left a home and family, to which he was ardently attached, for a field which promised little glory, small reward and a banishment that he detested, and, as it turned out, the co-operation of men whom he came with good cause utterly to despise. With him, however, went some staunch lieutenants such as Levis, de Bourlamaque and Bougainville; and he found other tried men on the spot with regimental officers and Canadian partisan leaders, well worthy to serve him through what in time became an unequal fight.

But this was not quite yet, for England, though girding herself for one of the most momentous conflicts in her history, was in feeble hands. Pitt was out of office and that hoary jobber Newcastle, to whom the very geography of North America was a constant puzzle, at the helm. Promotion in the army went wholly by favour and political interest. The navy was in good condition, but its first efforts were not encouraging. Lord Loudon came out as Commander-in-Chief: cautious and slow in action but quick in temper, ill-equipped to put life into the cumbrous movements, with their innumerable hitches in detail, of colonial warfare. General Abercromby and Colonel Webb, next in command, had preceded him, to prove more pronounced failures than their chief, whose intentions were always disproportionate to the measure of their fulfilment.

But few troops were despatched this year, and the burden of confronting Montcalm was thrown mainly on the provincials, of whom the northern colonies put several thousand tardily into the field, while the rest did little or nothing. There was no general idea as yet of conquering Canada other than Cape Breton, but only of striking at her salient points and capturing Fort Duquesne, the military heart of the West. This last, in face of the Indian terror still raging, was not yet attempted, while it was Montcalm who took the initiative, destroying the three forts and trading-station of Oswego and despatching thence 1,600 civil and military prisoners to Montreal. Webb, too late to save Oswego, rashly destroyed the recently-erected forts on the Mohawk route that led thither, while on Lakes George and Champlain the combatants harried one another in force without progress on either side. Several colonial officers, such as Bradstreet, Johnson, Winslow, Lyman and Washington, had shown talent for leadership and some were already brigadiers; but a foolish edict from England ranking them all as junior to British majors distracted the Higher Command and offended the provincials, who threatened to go home in a body. So ended ingloriously the first year of formal war.

With 1757 Pitt came into power and assumed full control of the war, Newcastle being relegated to those political and domestic affairs which best suited his passion for jobbery and patronage. But difficulties with the King and others had postponed this happy arrangement till the summer, while even then the Great Commoner, whom the nation had demanded with one voice, could not at once break through the slough of privilege, corruption and sloth into which the Administration had fallen. So though Pitt was in power, it was too late to redeem the year 1757 from its inglorious record.

In Canada neither Montcalm nor anyone else knew what to expect. Till the St. Lawrence unfroze they were cut off from all European news. An attempt of 1,600 men on snow-shoes over the ice of Lake George to surprise Fort William Henry, which was repulsed, alone broke the winter silence. Montcalm had ample opportunity for discovering the mixture of weakness, deceit and vanity of his nominal chief, Vaudreuil, which made him then and henceforward such a thorn in his side. The Governor, posing always as a Canadian, was jealous of the General, his staff and his French soldiers. He wrote voluminous letters to his Government belittling Montcalm, taking credit to himself for any military success and depreciating his troops, three of whom he declares are not equal to one Canadian, though rather inconsistently he begs for more!

The honest Montcalm in his private correspondence describes Vaudreuil as a nuisance generally, and a meddler in military matters of which he was quite ignorant, while, as for the Canadian militia, they are excellent behind barricades or in the bush, but no use at all in the open, a truism illustrated again and again. The infamous, unpatriotic corruption of Vaudreuil's Canadian friends heartily disgusted this great French gentleman. But he had to live with them, and, though rations might be short, as they always were in French Canada under any extra demand, social life and feasting went merrily on in official circles at Quebec.

Pitt's policy was to subsidise his allies in Europe, chiefly with money, and to strike hard with his fighting forces in North America and the West Indies, in short at every oversea possession of France. Five thousand more troops were sent over to Loudon at New York, whence, reinforced by more provincials, he was to move to Halifax and from there strike at Louisbourg, which was occupied by 7,000 men of all arms and 1,500 Indians. A strong French fleet too was already on the coast. As only Admiral Hardy with a small squadron was available as a convoy, Loudon waited for Holborne's fleet, but as the summer advanced without a sign of it, the risk was taken and, escaping the enemy's vigilance, the army was safely transported to Halifax. Here Holborne soon afterwards arrived to assist in the attack on Louisbourg, which when captured was, as already noted, to serve as a base against Quebec. But on reviewing the situation, Loudon decided that Louisbourg, with its strong garrison and powerful fleet, was impregnable. The latter, by their timely dash across the Atlantic, together with Holborne's tardiness, had saved the situation for the French. At any rate Loudon thought so, and in August brought his army back again to New York amid much not altogether deserved ridicule. Holborne then challenged the French fleet to come out of Louisbourg and fight him ; but, having nothing to gain by it, La Motte wisely stayed where he was, whereas his adversary was caught in a tempest and his ships scattered and greatly crippled.

The weakening of the British front against Canada caused by these widely flung adventures suited Montcalm admirably. He had already destroyed Oswego and incidentally the forts on the Mohawk, as well as the Anglo-German settlements in that valley. He now ascended Lake George with 6,000 men and 40 guns and, after a brave defence by Colonel Monro, captured Fort William Henry. The garrison of 2,000 men, mostly provincials, were perforce released on parole with a safe-conduct for themselves and a large company of women and children to Albany, as Canada was herself on short commons. But Montcalm's Indians unfortunately got out of hand and, half drunk, perpetrated what is known in American history as "The Massacre of Fort William Henry." In short, some seventy prisoners of all kinds were slaughtered before the efforts of Montcalm and his French officers recovered control of the savages, the Canadians present being roundly accused of apathy.

This affair enraged the people of the Northern Colonies, and the victims at least did not die in vain, since it gave fresh life to the warlike ardour of their compatriots, though it caused many a bloody reprisal outside the code of civilised war. Only lack of provisions, despite the supply captured at the fort, prevented Montcalm going right through to the Hudson and taking Albany.

And all through this year of Canadian triumphs and British mishaps Washington, with a few hundred inefficient Virginia militia stiffened by companies of Scotch-Irish borderers, was endeavouring with indifferent success to stem the Indian ravages along 400 miles of western frontier. The misery of the terrified refugees, he wrote, made his heart bleed. Pitt had hardly yet come into his own or completely shaken off the "Old Gang." Hitherto the advantage had been all with the French. In 1758, however, his vigour and his genius were at length to turn the tide, and as it rolled back with ever-menacing force, and its ultimate and sinister aim became apparent, the gallant Montcalm and his colleagues began fully to realise the bitter truth that they were abandoned literally to their own resources. But if the people went hungry through the long winter of 1757–58, the officers, the seigneurs, the officials, the vivacious ladies of Quebec feasted and danced, flirted and, worse still, as Montcalm complains, the latter married his captains and majors. Whether full or hungry the Canadian had, at least for this one winter, memories of successful deeds to hearten him. For with the spring "Pitt's young men" came trooping out. England had spent a depressing year, marked by failure in America, inglorious efforts on the coast of France, and a constant fear of invasion: "We are no longer a nation," declared Chesterfield, while young James Wolfe, in his illuminating letters, said even worse things.

The British plan of campaign this year aimed at three distinct blows: one at Louisbourg, the left wing, so to speak, of Canadian defence; a second at the Lake Champlain fortresses, its centre guarding Montreal; and a third at the still intact western fortress of Duquesne, upon the French right. Loudon had been recalled by Pitt with contemptuous brevity. But unfortunately Abercromby, his second-in-command, whose reputation, such as it may have been, was so far unimpaired, was left in charge of the central operations against Montcalm. Forbes, as Brigadier, was in command of the western advance from Pennsylvania and Virginia to capture Fort Duquesne and clear the Ohio basin of the enemy, while a well-equipped army of 12,000 men under General Amherst with a fleet of forty battleships and frigates under Admiral Boscawen was despatched to Louisbourg.

As one of Amherst's three Brigadiers, and in a good hour, went young James Wolfe, who, in Mordaunt's disastrous failure of the preceding year against La Rochelle, had attracted Pitt's notice. Louisbourg was invested early in June. At the moment it had a garrison of 4,000 men, with 3,000 sailors from the fleet which was locked up, virtually secure from attack, in its roomy but impenetrable harbour. The town, with its immense fortifications carrying 400 guns, was only approachable on its landward or rear side and by a land siege. Wolfe led the attack in boats upon the rock-bound shore and drove the enemy back within their fortifications, after which the town was regularly invested.

The siege lasted seven weeks and was distinguished by some hard fighting and by far the most formidable artillery fire on both sides ever known in North America. The Governor, Dracour, made a brave resistance, and it was not till the smitten town had become untenable through its civil population that he surrendered. Nearly 6,000 soldiers and sailors were taken prisoners, the non-combatants were given permission to return to France, and the French fleet burned or captured. The surrender of Cape Breton Island was automatic with that of Louisbourg, while Ile St. Jean, now the flourishing little province of Prince Edward Island, was also included. Two years later these vast fortifications were demolished by the British Government and the "Dunkirk of the North" wiped off the face of the earth. To-day its grass-grown casements still break the surface of the pasture-land beside what, till recent years and the rapid development of the neighbouring coal districts, was a world-forgotten fishing-village.

VIII

TICONDEROGA AND FORT DUQUESNE

The fall of Louisbourg, with the arrival and ceremonious display of its captured trophies and standards, caused transports of joy in England, so long accustomed to reverses; the more so as the news came close upon that of a great disaster which must be here briefly related. But for this untoward event Amherst and Wolfe, who had greatly distinguished himself at the siege, would probably have pushed on directly against Quebec with Boscawen's fleet. Now, at the head of Lake Champlain, near the mouth of the rapids which poured down from Lake George, Montcalm had erected the strong fort of Ticonderoga, a southerly outpost of Crown Point. Here in the same summer of 1758 that General, with 3,600 of his troops, awaited the advance of the English from Albany and the frontier forts which they had reoccupied.

He may well have been anxious. The rest of his troops were needed at Quebec, where, if Louisbourg fell, an attack might be expected, and at other danger-points not possible to indicate here. General Abercromby was collecting a force at Albany which rumour exaggerated beyond its really formidable proportions. These actually amounted to 6,000 regulars with artillery and 9,000 provincials, mostly from New England, well prepared and well equipped for the descent of Lake George in a great fleet of boats. Montcalm, who was joined at the last moment by Levis, now abandoned the stone fort of Ticonderoga and in an incredibly short time threw up an encircling stockade on a commanding ridge before it. This was composed of logs with a firing-parapet, protected on the outside with a *chevaux-de-frise* of fallen trees with the branches outwards, almost invulnerable to anything but artillery.

This was just completed and occupied by the French when the British arrived. Their whole force had descended the long, mountain-bordered length of Lake George, famous for its natural beauty, with an almost studied splendour of pageantry, which on that early July morning made a lasting impression on all who saw it. The bright uniforms of the British regiments, linesmen and Highlanders, with their arms glancing in the sun, their bands playing and the regimental standards floating above each flotilla, the whole sweeping proudly down the glassy lake amid the flash of many thousand oars, made a memorable spectacle.

The young Lord Howe, "the best officer in the British army," according to Wolfe, had been sent with the General as a sort of security for the discreet conduct of an untried commander. But in some outpost skirmishing in the woods Howe was unfortunately shot dead, the very first man to fall in this luckless campaign. Few stray shots have ever caused such disaster and lost so many lives.

Abercromby landed his army without opposition at the foot of Lake George, some eight miles south of Montcalm's post at the head of Lake Champlain. Leaving his guns with the boats, he pushed along the wooded shore of the connecting stream and reached Montcalm's formidable redoubt on the second day. A neighbouring elevation seemed to command it, and he sent an engineer subaltern of six months' standing to report on it as a site for artillery. The hapless lad, who was killed next day, reported adversely—an incredible blunder, as was obvious to all who saw the ground later.

Abercromby was in a hurry. Reports magnified the French force, and rumour had it that more were coming. He decided to carry this formidable barrier, behind which 3,600 disciplined troops lay invisible, at the point of the bayonet, and in the torrid noonday heat of July 8 flung his best regiments right upon it. It is a pitiable tale of futile heroism. Grenadiers, Highlanders (the Black Watch), the 27th, 44th, 46th, 55th Regiments and the Royal Americans (60th Rifles) one after another, in successive waves, strove valiantly to penetrate the dense tangle of boughs, or vainly beat themselves against the wooden walls behind, in the face of a continuous hail of lead.

The provincials were but lightly pushed into the impossible task, while Johnson's Indians sat on a neighbouring hill and jeered at the mad adventure. One hour of well-plied artillery from the height condemned by the raw young sapper would have swept the whole redoubt away and the French within it. Abercromby could have fetched up his guns in a few hours, and time was no great object. He himself was no witness of the slaughter, but from a mile in the rear issued his unrelenting orders. It was three hours before he at length called off his shattered but unflinching battalions, when 2,000 men lay dead and wounded before this deadly barricade. And then, with undignified despatch, the luckless General re-embarked his remaining 13,000 men together with his wounded and executed a humiliating though unpursued retreat up Lake George to his old headquarters.

So ended Abercromby's enterprise with the strongest and best-appointed British force that had ever marched to battle on American soil. There was no return. The decision not to proceed from Louisbourg to Quebec, which this catastrophe forced on Amherst, relieved the French city and brought reinforcements pouring down Lake Champlain. Montcalm, whose losses were small, had refused to believe that no further attack was intended. And now he had far larger forces inspired by what really was a glorious victory at a despairing moment, while Abercromby's embittered troops were naturally shaken in *moral.*

But this lamentable campaign was not to be quite barren of results ; for that enterprising New England General, Bradstreet, borrowed 3,000 men of the crestfallen Abercromby, traversed the long trail of the Mohawk Valley and captured the great French fort and station of Frontenac which Vaudreuil, ignoring Montcalm's warnings, had left weakly garrisoned. Three thousand French had in fact started from Montreal, but too late, to save it. Bradstreet found immense booty, and what he could not carry off he destroyed, together with all the buildings. Frontenac was the key of the West and the base of all its supply. The French declared its loss to be worse than a defeat in the field ; and it was never rebuilt.

The expedition against Fort Duquesne from the middle colonies, through their own dilatoriness and jealousies, dragged heavily at the start. It was September before Forbes, an elderly and ailing but determined soldier, got his mixed force of provincials, Highlanders, and Royal Americans on the march. They had the same wilderness to traverse as Braddock, though by a different route, and had moreover 6,000 men to convey over it. It was not the Indians, soaked in the blood of white men these two years past, who so much hampered their progress, nor yet de Ligneris, in command at the Fort with a strong garrison, as the abnormal rains of a usually fine season, and progress was incredibly slow. While still fifty miles from it, a mixed force was sent on to reconnoitre the fort, but, through the ignorance of the Highlanders and their officers of bush-fighting, was defeated outside its walls.

A wintry November was now upon them. Forbes himself was in an almost dying condition, and even Washington, in command of provincials, supported by a council of war, urged retirement. But Forbes, though suffering tortures and borne in a litter, with an almost inspired obstinacy insisted on going forward and found his reward in a fort so weakly occupied by the French, who had believed it now safe for this year, that it was taken without a blow, garrisoned and re-named Fort Pitt, to grow subsequently into Pittsburg, the Birmingham of America. The gallant Forbes was carried back to Philadelphia to die, and thus closed successfully the last act in the drama of 1758.

Louisbourg, Cape Breton, and the West with all its dreams had gone; Frontenac was wiped off the map; French Nova Scotia, now New Brunswick, was already British, and Ticonderoga had been won in vain. The British fleet held the seas and, even if France had retained her old North American policy and not followed after vain gods in Europe, she could not now, as formerly, ship serious reinforcements and supplies to her struggling colony, which was in sore need of both. Intendant Bigot and his harpies continued to bleed their distracted country, the more ruthlessly as they saw its end was near. There was no longer any doubt of Pitt's intentions. There was no word of peace, and the writing on the wall for all Canada to see was plain enough. Montcalm saw it more clearly than any one, but bravely set himself to face the worst.

The season of 1759 opened auspiciously for England, though none too well for France, in Europe; the French armies had been driven out of Hanover and across the Rhine. Pitt's support of the Prussian King had strained all the resources of his enemies, and so far in vain. The American war was now to be pushed to an issue on the capture of Quebec; and Quebec involved Canada. The usual plans were to be followed, modified by the advantages already won. A fleet and army collected at Louisbourg were to attack Quebec. A force under Amherst, now commanding in America, was to work up the Lakes George—Champlain route to the St. Lawrence. A third was to capture Niagara and sever Canada from its western trade. It must suffice here that Prideaux and Johnson, in command of 2,000 New Yorkers, two British battalions and some Indians, succeeded in this by July. The garrison was weak, but an attempt to relieve it, made by all the wild fighting spirits, red and white, of the western woods, led by the cream of the French partisan leaders, was defeated, though with the loss of Prideaux, and the Fort with all its dependencies surrendered.

Amherst's enterprise was the only one to fail. It is a long and tedious story—a struggle against physical and technical difficulties, aggravated by the chronic slowness of provincial military action, to which Amherst was new. De Bourlamaque, with 4,000 men at Ticonderoga, could not attempt to meet a force thrice that size under competent leadership, but retired before Amherst's approach, blowing up the Fort, to Crown Point. He was soon compelled to yield this also; but Amherst, on reaching Lake Champlain in August, was checkmated by a small fleet of French warships. He could move no further without building one of his own, a tedious business not completed till November, when the storms of approaching winter ended all further movement for that season.

So the attack upon Quebec after all had to be made without Amherst's co-operation, and this famous episode must now be told of, though in a space sadly inadequate for its thrilling story.

IX

THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC AND CANADA, 1759

James Wolfe, as everyone knows, was appointed to the command, with three efficient Brigadiers, Townshend, Monckton and Murray, Admiral Saunders, as his naval colleague, commanding the fleet. Wolfe's short career, from boyhood upwards, is a fascinating record, and, gathered largely from his own voluminous correspondence, has been told many times for all to read. It must be enough here to recount that he was the son of a General of Marlborough's wars, received his commission in the line at fifteen, served as acting adjutant to his regiment a year later at the Battle of Dettingen, and through several years' campaigning in Flanders and against the Young Pretender in Scotland fought his way up to a majority in his early twenties. Through the later years of peace he commanded a regiment[1] which became so famous for its discipline as to be eagerly sought after as a school for young officers. Due probably to campaigning hardships while immature, Wolfe was a life-long sufferer from various painful maladies, which only his eager spirit, his sense of duty and professional enthusiasm could at times have overcome. He was both a keen student, a facile correspondent and an ardent sportsman, while his long, lean figure, pale, plain face and red hair, redeemed by his brave carriage and alert blue eyes, were equally familiar in the ballroom. He had in truth a rare and exceptional temperament, a fiery and soaring spirit burning within a sickly frame with which it always seemed to be at war. Commonplace men could not always understand him. Someone told George II that he was mad. "Mad, is he ?" was the caustic reply ; "then I only hope he'll bite some of my Generals." Loudon, Abercromby, and perhaps poor Braddock had got upon the Royal Sergeant-Major's nerves. Finally, he always succeeded in gaining the affection of both officers and men under his command. Wolfe was now thirty-one. His selection was due to his spirited conduct at Louisbourg in the previous year, coupled with his high reputation as a regimental officer.

He was at this time in miserable health, aggravated by the protracted sea-sickness of a rough voyage to Halifax, where the fleet and army mustered. He had 9,000 admirable and mostly veteran troops, and everything went forward under the General's energy and sharp eye like clockwork. This was the first large fleet to brave the dangerous navigation of the St. Lawrence, and when it arrived before Quebec, though Montcalm had strained every nerve to prepare for it, the simpler Canadians thought a miracle had happened. Neither Wolfe nor any with him had ever seen Quebec, and the young General now realised what he was in for. He had to succeed or fail before November when the river froze up, and the thought of failure to his high-strung nature was intolerable.

Montcalm had neglected nothing. He had collected 4,000 regulars and about 10,000 militia besides Indians. He had repaired the walls of the city on the two landward sides and fringed its water-edge with floating batteries. The river narrowed for a brief space to about 1,200 yards in breadth beneath the guns of the city, which seemed to preclude any attack above that point. Moreover a line of steep cliffs ran hence up the river for some six miles on the Quebec shore. On the same shore and as far below the city the gorge of the Montmorency Falls descending to the St. Lawrence greatly simplified defence against a land attack on that side. Just above the flat foreshore of the St. Lawrence, between the city flanked by the tributary river St. Charles and the Montmorency gorge, rose a low ridge, and it was along this that Montcalm cast his lines of defence, known from the Seigneurie as the lines of Beauport, and entrenched the bulk of his forces.

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[1] The 20th, now Lancashire Fusiliers.

Quebec itself, now rendered impregnable on its harbour front and in any case easy of relief from the Beauport lines, was left with a small garrison, its civil population being about 8,000. Montcalm thought he was safe for that season and he meant to take no chances; for there was always the bare possibility of an early Peace in Europe, which might find Canada still unconquered. To Wolfe, however, it seemed now or never; but even his stout heart failed a little as he gazed upon the task before him.

The troops disembarked in the last days of June, when the French sent down some fire-ships on the British fleet, which miscarried. Wolfe stationed part of his army on the Isle of Orleans, which lay in mid-stream four miles below the city; the rest occupied the southern shore confronting it, including Point Levis, which directly faced Quebec across the narrowed channel already alluded to. Here Wolfe erected batteries, within easy range as it proved, to the surprise of Vaudreuil, who had thwarted Montcalm's wish to fortify and hold the position of the lower town on the flat, and destructive enough even to the upper town and the citadel on the rock above. It is impossible here to follow this famous siege through the weary weeks of baffled endeavour to force an impregnable position or tempt Montcalm to a general engagement, which he as well as Wolfe knew would be fatal to him.

"I have here," Wolfe wrote in one of his despondent letters home, "a small army of good troops and Montcalm a large army of bad ones."

An attack on the embattled ridge of Beauport, held by thousands of sharp-shooters and out of reach of artillery, failed, with unnecessary bloodshed for the unbridled impetuosity of the storming troops. Fleet and army worked together in unprecedentedly harmonious fashion. Some ships, taking the fire of the Quebec batteries, ran far up the river with landing-parties, who found every vulnerable point strongly occupied; others engaged the stationary and floating batteries on the harbour front. The guns on Point Levis were steadily reducing the city to ruins, but that did not forward matters. "You may destroy Quebec, but you will never take it," declared de Ramesay, a French colonel who has left a journal of the siege, in an interchange of messages. "I will take Quebec," retaliated Wolfe, "if I stay till November."

Weakened by fever, and with his chronic ailments intensified by his untiring efforts upon every front, the young General at last succumbed. For two days Wolfe lay in danger of his life, "to the inexpressible grief of the whole army."

"Patch me up for the moment," he told the doctors; "after that, nothing matters."

They succeeded, and he was up and doing again with a last desperate plan maturing in his mind. It was now September, and the ill news had just come that Amherst could not get through, which involved the release of de Levis and 3,000 men from Montreal for Montcalm's assistance. Montcalm had scraped together enough food to last him out with the help of occasional contributions from the up-river country. Wolfe's audacious plan was to scale the cliffs above the town by night with a sufficient force, seize the plateau known as the Plains of Abraham, which extended up to the city walls, and thus engage Montcalm in the open, if he came out, which various urgent reasons made almost certain. Certain, too, in Wolfe's opinion, was the result of such a battle. Failing this, guns could be hauled up, the walls breached and the town assaulted. Admiral Holmes, whose co-operation with ships and boats was necessary, was the only soul entrusted with the secret.

The work of moving 4,000 men six miles up the river to Cap Rouge, the limit of the cliffs, where they remained on board concealing their numbers, was so skilfully performed that Montcalm suspected nothing. He was kept busy, too, at Wolfe's orders, by redoubled artillery fire and feigned activities by the troops left behind. Two thousand French were stationed at Cap Rouge, but were so accustomed to raiding-parties up the river, a feint of which was now made by some English ships, that they were thrown quite off the scent of Wolfe's intentions, and even marched up-stream in pursuit.

Till the night of September 12 only the Admiral, with one necessary subordinate, were in Wolfe's confidence. The Brigadiers were now told, and got their orders. Soon after midnight, with an ebbing tide to assist their passage down-stream, a flotilla of boats, loaded with troops, started, Wolfe himself leading, and ships, carrying the remainder of the force, following at a distance. Wolfe had long before selected the place of landing and ascent through his glasses from the opposite shore, where a faint zigzag trail climbed the cliff two miles above Quebec. Twice the flotilla narrowly escaped disaster. An English sloop mistaking them for French provision-boats was only just prevented firing by Wolfe himself, while later the guard on the cliff, hearing the oars, challenged them, when a ready-witted officer replied in French that they were provision-boats, which were, it so happened, actually expected. The whole force was landed in the dark without a hitch, each relay in succession scaling the cliff, by help of the brushwood covering it. A few shots were exchanged with a surprised and isolated sentry-post at the top, but by six o'clock Wolfe's little army was drawn up on the heights in front of the city.

Three miles beyond Quebec, at Beauport, Montcalm had received the news with amazement and incredulity, till he reached a point whence the red lines were all too plainly visible as the rising sun lit the distant heights. For reasons not possible to elaborate here, the French commander saw that his only chance, poor though it was, lay in a battle, and, to shorten the story, had some 5,000 of his best troops by ten o'clock drawn up outside the city confronting Wolfe, who had rather less. There were also the 2,000 French under de Bougainville at Cap Rouge, four miles in Wolfe's rear. But, as we have seen, they had been thrown off the scent by an upriver ruse and for the moment were quite at fault. Wolfe had out-generalled his enemy at every point and had now secured that open battlefield for which he had so ardently longed through the weary weeks. It only remained now to crush Montcalm, and the animation of his look and bearing as he moved about in the disposition of his troops, who had unbounded faith in him, was noticed by everyone. Deducting a battalion left in the rear to guard against dangers from that quarter, about 3,500 men were in the battle-line. Montcalm had rather more, 2,000 being regulars, besides 1,500 Indians and irregulars on his wooded flanks.

The battle lasted about half an hour. The deadly precision of the disciplined British fire at forty paces fairly decimated the French vanguard and, followed by a general charge with bayonet and claymore, virtually decided the day in the first few minutes. The rest was practically a pursuit to the city gates, arrested here and there by stubborn groups of French regulars or by sharp-shooting skirmishers on the flanks. Wolfe on foot, leading the right wing, was first shot in the wrist, to fall a few minutes later with a ball in his lungs. He was carried on a litter to the rear, and soon afterwards died on the battlefield, as all the world knows, returning thanks with his last breath for the victory of which his attendants assured him. The gallant Montcalm, too, was shot through the body and borne home to Quebec to die that night. The French loss was about 1,500, that of the British about 600. A panic now seized the French, and their surviving regulars, with Vaudreuil himself, escaped up the river towards Three Rivers by a back route, leaving utter demoralisation behind them.

The city surrendered three days later to Townshend, who succeeded Wolfe in command, and the Canadian militia in garrison and in the Beauport lines dispersed to their homes with a long and creditable record, but never again, with trifling exceptions, to take willingly to soldiering under any emergencies from that day to this. Wolfe's body was sent home for burial, and the nation fell into transports of delight at the dramatic victory, modified by the genuine grief felt for the untimely but glorious death of the victor. "Men cheered and wept at the same time," says Walpole. Murray, one of Wolfe's Brigadiers, was left as Governor with a sufficient garrison. The fleet sailed away, and the iron northern winter, so dreaded and so longed for by the two dead heroes respectively through the past summer, sealed up the land. The War in America was not over, but Quebec virtually decided it. The world, at any rate, has agreed that it did, and that Wolfe's victory not only gave Canada to Great Britain, but in so doing gave birth to the United States.

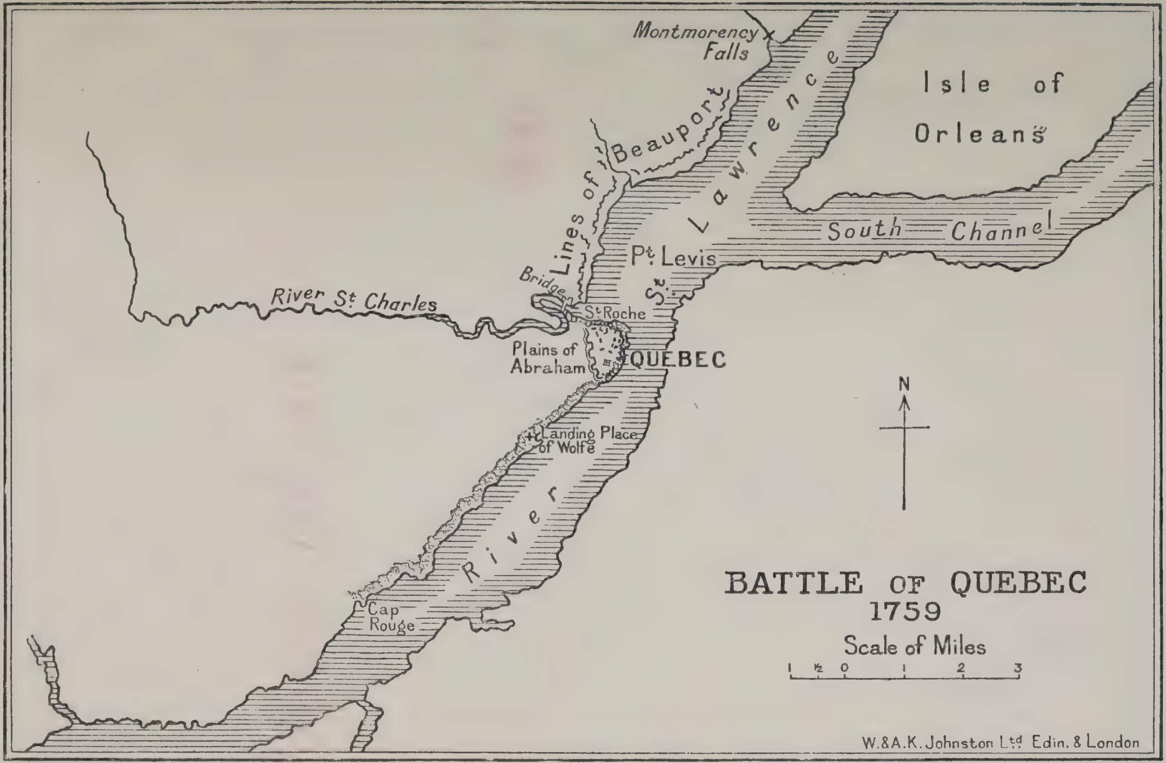
Few people remember what a hard time had Murray, shut up through that long winter in Quebec, woefully short of provisions, firewood, and clothing, and what a gallant bid, in April, while the snow was yet on the ground, de Levis, who had still at his disposal 8,000 regulars and militia, made for its recapture; or again, how Murray, rashly and perhaps with the hope of emulating the dead Wolfe, went out on to the Plains of Abraham, with ill-fed, half-clad men, and got severely handled. For he had only 2,500 men fit for duty, "scorbutic skeletons" as a wag among them has described them in his journal, and he was put to great straits in holding the place till a relieving British squadron got up in May. We need not dwell on the next year, 1760. British armies, converging from both Quebec and southern routes under the command of Amherst, closed on Levis at Montreal, who surrendered a force shrunk to about 2,500 regulars, and the whole of Canada with it.

By the terms of capitulation the Canadians were granted the free exercise of their religion, and the religious bodies the retention of their estates. The Jesuits however and one or two other Orders were excepted to await the King's pleasure. The main details could not be settled till the close of the war between France and England and the transfer confirmed by treaty. The defenders of Canada of all ranks had deserved well of their Mother-country, to which the remnants of the seven French regiments engaged, together with their leaders and the civil officials of Canada, were now returned. The former got scant gratitude for their brave efforts in a cause that mattered infinitely, from their French compatriots who had failed them and themselves failed ruinously in a cause that mattered comparatively nothing. The dead Montcalm got little but abuse, and it was left for Anglo-Saxons and French Canadians to do him justice and give immortal distinction to his name in North America. Bigot and his crew of vultures, who, till the last moment, gnawed the carcase of Canada of its last shred of flesh and departed at the conquest to enjoy their ill-gotten gains in France, alone met their deserts in forfeiture or imprisonment. Vaudreuil was thrown into the Bastille, but liberated when it was proved that his own hands were financially clean. For though of a vainglorious and jealous nature, he lacked neither energy nor patriotism.

X

BRITISH RULE IN CANADA

With the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the whole of French North America, save New Orleans and two Newfoundland fishing-stations, were surrendered to Great Britain. George III had just mounted the throne; Bute and the Tories were in power. That the opposition and followers of Chatham, who had brought England to an unprecedented height of power and glory, were exasperated at the terms of the Treaty does not directly concern our subject. But there was an eloquent minority opposed even to the retention of Canada for reasons which, with a deeper knowledge of America and at a calmer moment, might have prevailed. The Northern Colonies had always lived in dread of the French power in Canada, while those to the south had now learned what it meant. All now realised the difficulties of military co-operation among themselves, and though some


BATTLE OF QUEBEC
1759
Scale of Miles
1 ½ 0 1 2 3
Montmorency Falls
Isle of Orleans
Beauport
Lines of
St. Lawrence
South Channel
Pt. Levis
Bridge
River St. Charles
St. Roche
Plains of Abraham
QUEBEC
N
Landing Place of Wolfe
River
Cap Rouge
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had displayed much warlike zeal, they had been only saved from disaster, and more than saved, by the sea and land forces of Great Britain. For the moment, they shared in the loyal and exuberant rejoicings which celebrated the Peace; but there were far-seeing men who knew them and misdoubted the future. In brief it was felt that, with the removal of the French terror from their flanks and rear which ensured their dependence on the Mother-country, future troubles might well arise, though no articulate notes to that effect were sounded by the rejoicing and relieved Americans. There were indeed some in Parliament who favoured the exchange of Canada for Guadeloupe, a West India island, which produced many times the value of the then exports of Canada, regarded by all contemporary Europe as a poor, inhospitable, snow-bound country. Happily the exaltation of the moment, and perhaps some deeper instincts, overwhelmed the notes of warning which after all were justified with unexpected celerity.

In the interval between the Conquest and the Peace the Canadians thankfully followed their old avocations in their old way under the mild military rule of Murray, who had been appointed Governor. For only a few of the seigneurs, traders and higher clergy had returned to France with the troops and officials. When Canada was formally taken over at the Peace, Murray remained as Civil Governor. The King's proclamation, regulating the government of his new subjects, though frankly beneficent and generous, could hardly avoid at this tentative period a certain vagueness. All the religious privileges "compatible with their allegiance as British subjects" were continued to the Canadians (the Jesuits only being expelled), and the current laws, generally known as the "*Coutume de Paris*," were to be conformed as nearly as possible to the laws of England.

The relationship of the upper class with the English officers and their wives was cordial, and the contemporary pictures of social life at Quebec and Montreal are pleasing and instructive. "The ladies," says an Englishwoman on the spot, "are gay, coquettish and sprightly, more flattered by the vanity of inspiring passion than capable of feeling it themselves. They are better educated, however, than the men, very few of the seigneurs being able to write their own names. There were water-parties from Quebec to Montreal, with a band of music on board and an adjournment each night to the house of the seigneur of the district, where there was supper and a dance." Every *habitant's* house visited by the same observer had three or four good rooms with linen sheets and curtained beds for the heads of the family. The men seemed lazy and the women industrious. That they made so comfortable a living thus easily seemed to the writer a curious comment on the outside opinion that Canada was hardly fit for human habitation.

Soon after the Peace a most formidable Indian war, under the ablest Indian chief who had ever appeared, broke out. For the English traders, relieved from fears of the French, had got out of hand. The Indians, with the hauling down of the French flag at a score of remote western stations, foresaw the dread advance of the English settler upon their hunting-grounds. The western French, being in friendly and even domestic relations with the savages, encouraged a war so much to their liking with assurances that their Father, the French King, was only sleeping and would shortly return to drive the English into the sea. Pontiac, their leader, had the genius and magnetism both to combine and to lead the diverse tribes. It took British Generals, regulars, and provincials nearly two years of western fighting to suppress what is known in history as "Pontiac's War." It only affected Canada through the fur-trade, but this allusion to it may remind us that all this western country was for the present attached to Canada and fell automatically under such laws as were made for the French province. This indeed was one of the grievances set forth by the revolting American colonies.

Pending more definite settlement there was considerable friction in administering the new mixture of French and English law in Canada. Judges were sent out, venial appointments from England with no knowledge of French and often little of law, their salaries dependent on fees graded on English standards but extortionate in a poor country like Canada. Magistrates, selected from British American Protestants, as yet an inferior class, proved grossly incompetent. The whole thing was an unprecedented experiment. There were no British settlers to speak of. Immigration from Britain was not looked for. The prospect seemed wholly one of governing a small, isolated province of French Catholics, and there was an honest desire on the part of their new rulers to win their loyalty by kind and equitable treatment. The Canadians too appreciated the greater liberty and freedom from tyrannical exactions that had followed the change of régime. They only asked to be governed, and had no conception as yet of Parliaments or votes. The small British-American element, on the other hand, accustomed to these privileges, made all for trouble.

They chafed at autocracy merely as such, but objected to the concessions they demanded for themselves being granted to the French. So at the revolt of the American colonies they provided a dangerous element of disloyalty which worked for the inclusion of Canada in the movement.

Murray's successor was General Sir Guy Carleton, an old friend of Wolfe's and participator in his crowning victory. He proved the ablest Governor, in the days when Governors really counted, that Canada ever had, as well as the longest in office, for he served two terms of about ten years each, with an interval, through a most critical period of Canadian history. Carleton foresaw no British industrial future connected with Canada; nobody under the conditions of that day would have foreseen it. The boundless opportunities offered by the Anglo-American colonies utterly discounted those of a country inferior, as it then seemed, at all points, and further disqualified by a difference in race, language and religion. Carleton saw only an isolated little French community held in trust by the British Crown, a people left suddenly by the fate of war without any government of their own or the faintest capacity for forming one. His idea was to rule them, so far as possible, along the lines of their old traditions, the harsher features of which had been dropped by common consent. He foresaw as the result of this a loyal, prolific, hardy, manageable and even martial people, who might some day prove a source of strength to the King's service. A letter to France, which was attributed to Montcalm when his end was approaching, indicated what a valuable asset the Canadians, if treated judiciously, might some day prove to the King of England.

Opinion in Puritan New England, and no little of it in Old England too, with the justifiable anti-papist prejudices of the day, opposed this utterly. It demanded without a moment's hesitation the expatriation of the priests, suppression of Popery, of the French language in official life and of the antiquated feudal land-laws. A large and perhaps recently-increased body of British Canadians hold that policy to have been the right one, but neither party then suspected the political upheavals that were coming.

After much consideration by Parliament, and with the approval and assistance of Carleton, a Constitution was framed and, under the name of the Quebec Act, was passed in 1774. It was virtually that of a Crown Colony, under a Governor with a nominated Council. The seigneurial system was retained over its then existing area, all future grants to be in freehold. The Church was confirmed in its former position and the tithe made obligatory on Roman Catholics. The Act met with violent criticism. It made the mistake of extending its operations over the wild western country behind the British colonies. This was really a mere temporary expedient, but the Americans took alarm, for it was unthinkable that their western emigrants should find themselves under an autocratic Government and mediæval French laws.

In 1775, however, when Carleton returned to put the Act in force, both Canadians and British Americans had other things to think of. For the revolt of the colonies had begun with the first overt act of war, the seizure of the weakly-garrisoned forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point on the Canadian frontier. Things now moved apace, and it was soon evident that a campaign against Canada was a prominent feature in the revolutionary programme. Happily an able soldier was there in charge of what seemed a hopeless resistance. Carleton had been retained for consultative purpose four years in England, an efficient Anglo-Swiss officer, Cramahé, acting as his deputy. He had good reason before leaving to place much reliance on the Canadian militia, which had been continued on the old footing and numbered all told about 15,000 men. There had been no sign of disaffection nor any likelihood of American ideas coming near a people so indifferent to political questions and so prejudiced against their hereditary foes across the border.

But the Americans, helped by the disaffected Canadian British, had been for some time flooding the country with secret emissaries, who poisoned the minds of the ignorant peasantry with fantastic lies of what the coming Act portended. The very concessions in law, land-tenancy, language and religion were skilfully represented as a mere ruse and as instruments to bind them in such a slavery as they had never known. They were even to be torn from their homes and sent as soldiers to fight in European wars. From all this and much more their American well-wishers would in due course deliver them, provided that they remained quiet or, better still, proved helpful when that good hour of deliverance came. The leaflets sowed broadcast by these industrious propagandists make at this day entertaining reading. The seigneurs were of necessity included among the potential oppressors, the confiscation of their lands in favour of their tenantry being an additional bait, while the legalisation of the tithe was made a cause of distrust against the clergy.

So when during that autumn the Americans moved up in force against Canada, Carleton, to his dismay, found that the rank and file of the militia would not move. The efforts of neither their officers nor their priests could stir them. Some hardy fictions of Canadian history still survive in irresponsible print and after-dinner speeches. That the French saved Canada from the American revolutionist is the wildest of them. Carleton saved Canada despite them, or the bulk of them, as we shall see.

XI

THE AMERICAN WAR, 1775–1778

Carleton at once repaired to Montreal, the immediate object of American attack. He had only about eight hundred regulars, mainly absorbed by Forts Chambly and St. John's on the Richelieu River, guarding the approach to Montreal. For Gage at New York had recently deprived him of two regiments, and all appeals for assistance had been made in vain. The French upper class, about four hundred families in all, were staunch, and furnished a body of volunteers who went off to join the regulars at the forts. The priests, headed by Briand, their loyal Bishop, thundered from a hundred pulpits against the heretic *Bastonnais*,[1] but for the moment, like the seigneurs in a more permanent sense, they had lost their influence. The British civilians at Montreal were, as a class, more frankly disloyal than those at Quebec, but a battalion of doubtful French militia was eventually brought up to the front.

In early September, with the above-mentioned militia and a hundred regulars behind dilapidated fortifications, Carleton awaited developments at the frontier forts and on the American border. The American force, about 2,000 in number, was under General Schuyler with Richard Montgomery as Brigadier, a retired British officer, married into a leading New York family and a member of the first Congress. In the meantime the notorious partisan Ethan Allan, the recent captor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, made a dash across country against Montreal with a small force, but was repulsed and himself taken prisoner.

But this was of small moment. In October Forts Chambly and St. John were overwhelmed by the American artillery and the garrisons captured. The *habitant* population south of the St. Lawrence now lent ready help to the enemy with horses and wagons in return for silver money. Four or five hundred even joined their ranks as armed combatants. The exultant Americans, now under the sole command of Montgomery, moved straight on Montreal, and Carleton's position became untenable. Quebec remained the sole hope for Canada, and it was vital that he himself should get there. This was difficult, as the enemy batteries now held the river below the city and there was no chance of escape for any body of men. But a skilful canoeist and *voyageur* succeeded in getting Carleton through the dangerous reaches in the dark of the night, and after some days of rapid solitary travel he reached Quebec in safety.

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[1] Corrupt French for "Bostonnais," or New Englanders.

The Home Government had been as deaf to the entreaties of Murray and Carleton to repair the city walls as to the appeals of Carleton for soldiers to man them. Cramahé had patched up the defences to the best of his ability and mobilised such forces as were available, but he described the city to his chief as corroded with disaffection. Carleton at once took steps to purge it, and ordered every soul to leave it within four days who would not fight or work in its defence. This cleared the air, and about 5,000 inhabitants remained. Of armaments there were ample: a hundred guns mounted on the walls, more firearms than there were men to use them and more ammunition than could be fired away. The combatant force remaining consisted of some five hundred French militia, nearly four hundred of McLean's Royal Emigrants, raised from the disbanded Highland soldiers who had remained in America, ninety recruits from Newfoundland, and four hundred British volunteers or sailors from various small ships in the harbour. French volunteers, students and others capable of useful work behind the fighting line made up the roster of that nation to seven hundred and ten names. In all there were about eighteen hundred combatants, and under Carleton's inspiring lead they proved loyal and zealous to a man.

Thus, poorly manned, though fortunate in its command, and the only spot in Canada still held by a British force, Quebec braced herself for the fourth and last siege in her history, which was once again to determine who were to be the future masters of Canada. Carleton knew, and the Americans knew, that so long as Quebec remained unconquered Canada was not won. But a fresh American force had just arrived on the south bank of the river. For the able and afterwards notorious Benedict Arnold, at the head of a thousand picked New Englanders and Allegheny backwoodsmen, had started from the mouth of the Kennebec River to cross the forest-clad mountainous wilderness lying between the New England coast and Quebec. It cost them a month of labour, hardship and semi-starvation, in terrible weather, and was a notable achievement for the six hundred who got through.

Their procedure on arrival and that of Montgomery, who, after occupying Montreal, marched on to meet them at Quebec, must be passed over. But when the combined American force of about 1,500 men with artillery invested Quebec, December had arrived, and a foot of snow lay on Wolfe's old battle-ground before the city, where Montgomery set up his headquarters. It was a bold undertaking. But the experiences of the late war were still with the young-middle-aged in America. Montgomery's small army were largely picked men, seasoned with many old soldiers. Their leader, of Anglo-Irish birth, was a trained and brave officer of average capacity, ambition and dash, though tarnished by a vainglorious temperament. Arnold was a born soldier, and his following were hardy sharpshooters.

Carleton, though a host in himself, had barely four hundred trained soldiers in his heterogeneous force. Montgomery was confident of breaching the walls and carrying the town by assault. But after a month of cannonading, in which the American guns were knocked out by those on the walls, and of sharpshooting from the suburbs by Arnold's corps, which picked off every man who showed himself on the ramparts, he decided on a night assault. This was to be effected by simultaneous attacks at the two extreme ends of the lower town, each defended by barriers, with a feint by a third force at the walls of the upper town, facing the Plains of Abraham.

After several postponements the attempt was made in the small hours of the morning of New Year's Day. Montgomery, with 300 men, dropped down the cliff where Wolfe had climbed it, and amid darkness and falling snow, stumbled along the rough freezing strand of the river towards the city. On approaching it he went forward with a dozen others to investigate the barrier that closed the narrow entrance to the lower town, squeezed in between the cliff, which carries the citadel and upper town, and the river. Carleton had known of the coming attack and was well prepared. As Montgomery and his advanced party blundered in the dark up to the barrier, they were met at close range with the contents of a small battery and a shower of bullets from a block-house. At this sudden discharge the main body in the rear, seeing nothing and out of the line of fire, retreated in bewilderment and returned no more. The men behind the barrier guns, however, only knew that they had fired two volleys at some figures but dimly visible in the darkness. After sunrise and the more serious fighting in the city was over, a party went out and found thirteen corpses buried in the new-fallen snow, with but a single stark hand showing above it. The hand was Montgomery's, who lay dead among them.

In the meantime Arnold, with six hundred men from the suburb of St. Roche, which they had occupied throughout the siege, had made a more successful attack at the further extremity of the lower town, where a similar gut between the St. Charles River and the Upper town cliff had been barricaded. The first barrier was carried, though with the loss of Arnold, badly but not mortally wounded. His place was taken by Morgan, a backwoods fighter, and later on a well-known revolutionary leader. Here, in and about the lower streets, fierce but confused fighting went forward till daylight. Carleton's motley force, less such as were required to watch the walls on the heights behind and the Prés de Ville, where Montgomery, for all that was known, might renew the attack, fought bravely. In the end they captured over four hundred of the Americans and killed, so far as could be ascertained, about two hundred more.

Beaten at all points, the Americans now retired to their quarters, and Quebec was saved. For though the siege dragged on till May, American reinforcements being brought up to sustain it, the city was never again in danger. The defenders, whose loss had been trifling, were to a man elated by their triumph and, in the words of one of them, "ready to follow their glorious leader anywhere." But Carleton's business was to sit tight till the expected British troops came out in the spring. That was vital ; nothing else for the moment signified. Though further attempts were made, the city was never again in serious danger. If Quebec had fallen on that dark New Year's morning of 1776, Canada would almost certainly have become the fourteenth State of the Union. With the possession of the many valuable colonies to the South at stake with their wide-open ports, England would hardly have barked her knuckles and wasted time against a powerful fortress, guarding a poverty-stricken country of French peasants, remote from all the greater scenes of action.

But as a ready-made British base for one wing of their attacking forces it was another matter, and early in May the first instalments of the force, which Burgoyne a year later was to lead to disaster, sailed up the St. Lawrence. Supported by the first detachments disembarked, Carleton let loose his impatient garrison like greyhounds from a leash. The Americans, whose endurance through a long hard winter had been admirable, had mistimed their retreat, and had now to run for their lives, leaving most of their impedimenta behind them. In a short time ten thousand troops were in Quebec under Carleton's command, though Burgoyne was present; for the petty spite which prompted Lord George Germaine, now unfortunately at the helm of State, to depose Carleton in his favour had not yet accomplished that fateful blunder.

The expulsion of the enemy from every part of Canada was speedily accomplished. By the end of June they were back at Lake Champlain, taking many of the disaffected British Canadians with them. The fickle *habitants* had deserted the Americans when their silver money changed to dubious paper, and returned to their priests, their negative loyalty and their parochial life, and incidentally to a great increase of prosperity in provisioning the large garrisons and subsequent influx of refugees throughout the war.

The barest reference to the war beyond the Canadian border must suffice here. But in this summer of 1776 Carleton, as Governor of Canada and Commander of the Forces despatched thither to operate against the Americans, had his hands full. He had to take his orders unfortunately from Germaine, the most incompetent and unworthy of all ministers, who hated Carleton for rejecting some of his impossible nominations to Canadian civil posts, while Carleton on his part utterly despised him and chafed under his ignorant arrogance.[1]

The intention had been to break through the American defences on Lake Champlain and penetrate this summer to the Hudson. But an American flotilla held the lake, and there was no road down its tangled swampy banks ninety miles in length. So Carleton had to build ships out of growing trees; and Canada was scarce in the skilled labour for such an undertaking. He had urged the Government to ship a supply of craftsmen and tools, but none had come. He had his fleet built, however, by October and, in the novel capacity of Admiral, set sail in it and, defeating Arnold in a naval action, drove his ships off the lake. But winter was at hand and the

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[1] Germaine, who, as Lord George Sackville, had commanded the British cavalry at Minden (1759), lost his reputation and military position by persistently refusing to charge at a critical moment, and was subsequently regarded by most soldiers with contempt.

Americans lay entrenched at Ticonderoga. Its probably laborious capture, besides the fact that any further advance southward would be blocked by ice and snow, decided Carleton to retire to Canada for winter quarters.

Germaine was so crassly ignorant of his work as to imagine that a British army, not even properly equipped for such a mad adventure, could camp and march and fight among the frozen lakes and snow-bound forests of a New England winter. He had already forwarded the deposition of Carleton from his military command, leaving him only his Governorship, but the order miscarried. In the spring of 1777, however, Carleton received it, coupled with further censure for not following up the minister's idiotic winter scheme. Carleton, in just wrath, at once resigned his Governorship. Haldimand, his successor, was so shocked on hearing the details of Carleton's treatment that he refused to sail till assured of his desire to come home. But Haldimand's voyage was in any case baffled by contrary winds, and it was not till the following year (1778) that he could relieve Carleton. In the meantime Burgoyne had been ordered to supersede the latter in that fateful campaign which ended so disastrously at Saratoga, brought France into the conflict, and so decided its issue.

Burgoyne was a good soldier, despite his *flair* for play-writing and versifying, and Carleton gave him all possible help. It is true that, through Germaine's criminal neglect to notify Howe at New York of his part in the scheme, Burgoyne was sent on a fool's errand. But it is humanly certain that Carleton, with his sagacity, caution and knowledge of the country, would never have been trapped at Saratoga as was his successor.

Canada and Nova Scotia remained all this time but anxious spectators of the American War. When the French joined the Revolutionists it was only natural that their reappearance on American soil should cause anxiety as to its effect on their Canadian compatriots, more especially as strong appeals to them were made by Lafayette and other French leaders. Would France once more, as the price of her assistance, make a bid for Canada ? It was soon understood, however, that Washington would have none of this. Whatever the result of this domestic British struggle, there should be no return of the French : and henceforward Canada stood to one side.

Carleton had been relieved by General Sir Frederick Haldimand in the summer of 1778. The new Governor was the most prominent of a group of accomplished Swiss officers in the British service, who had been appointed to commissions in the four battalions of Royal Americans. This corps (the present 60th Rifles, or K.R.R.C.) had been raised in America for service in the Seven Years' War, largely from German-speaking settlers: hence the need for foreign officers. Haldimand, with a good military record, was an honest, loyal and sagacious man. It was difficult for anyone to follow Carleton, who, though a little stiff and reserved, was adored in Canada, and the eight years of Haldimand's rule were anxious and troublous ones. But, foreigner though he was, he performed his difficult task excellently, and his memory has hardly received full justice. For during his rule the whole balance of Canada was upset, and its prospects entirely changed by the in-pouring of the loyalist refugees, the true founders and creators of British Canada, from the American colonies.

XII

THE COMING OF THE LOYALISTS

Some reference to the conditions which drove out 100,000 loyal and brave people to hardship, penury and exile is inevitable, as a substantial portion of them founded the Canada that we know to-day.

Throughout the war refugee families had been steadily drifting northward by woodland trails to Canada, and Haldimand soon found himself with two or three thousand of them to feed and shelter in an ill-furnished country, already burdened with the maintenance of large garrisons. On the cessation of active hostilities which followed Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in October 1781, Carleton was sent back to America as Commander-in-Chief by the new Rockingham Ministry. He would have been invaluable in war, but now it was his thankless task to prepare for the ignoble Peace now actually in sight. But, what most concerns us here, he found those sea-ports still in British hands, particularly New York his headquarters, crowded with loyalist refugees from every province, with little left them but what they could carry in their hand, and among them most of the provincial loyalist regiments that had fought through the war. Carleton was touched to the quick. His letters tell the painful scenes he witnessed and the pitiful stories he listened to. The British Government used every effort to get better terms for them in the Peace now impending, but in vain. No alternative but a continuation of the war remained, and as this was a Peace Government with a people determined on Peace behind it, its hands were tied. As a final effort, at the Treaty in 1783 the French, pleading the right as the determining factor in the war to a voice in the conditions of Peace, strongly urged more clement treatment, but in vain. Charleston, Savannah and Philadelphia had just been evacuated, thousand of loyalists going thence to the West Indies, Florida or Great Britain. The remainder swelled the crowds huddled at New York, which town was to be retained till the British troops could be withdrawn.[1]

In the meantime the disposal of the loyalists was a matter of grave concern to the Government. Officers who had served had only half-pay, and the orphaned families but trifling pensions. Parliament later on voted three millions for their relief, but only subject to a Court of Claims which involved long delays. The immediate scheme, however, was their transfer to the unsettled portions of Canada and Nova Scotia. For what is now the fertile province of Ontario was then unbroken forest stretching from near Montreal to Lake Huron, and by repute an inhospitable wilderness. But rumours to the contrary had recently secured attention, followed by a commission of inspection. The report being favourable, tracts were surveyed along Lake Ontario, around where Kingston now stands, and again at Niagara, already familiar to certain loyalist corps through frontier-fighting. The response had been abundant, though indeed there was little choice for these unfortunate people. Undue optimism had prevailed among the refugees, who could not believe that the English Government would let them down, nor yet realise the situation ; the treaty therefore came like a thunderclap. Such grudging concessions as had been offered by Congress were farcical. Indeed, many individual experiments had proved that, apart from the loss of property and prospects, life among their former neighbours would be insupportable, so bitter was the feeling. So " Hell or Halifax," as the saying had it, to which "Upper Canada" might have been added, alone remained.

The majority selected Nova Scotia. Though a cold and fog-bound country from their point of view, it was at least known, comparatively accessible, partially settled, and possessed of an established government, while Upper Canada was, in the popular fancy, a semi-Arctic wilderness, haunted by wolves and scalping savages. Some ten thousand, however, found their way thither by tedious forest trails or by sea-route to Quebec, of whom anon. Few in the long run repented their choice ; assuredly their children had no cause to do so. Nova Scotia, on the other hand, drew some 30,000. All were allotted tracts of land, graded according to military rank, when they had one, or, in the case of civilians, to the working-strength of their families. Implements, animals, and a year's rations to each household was part of the arrangement.

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[1] Their property and effects, when not already illegally appropriated by their neighbours, were confiscated by the U.S. Government.

For many months small vessels sailed for Halifax bearing successive companies of these unfortunate exiles, to begin life again in the wild woods, for which most of them were ill-suited by habit, and many physically unfit. For quite a number belonged to the leading families of their respective Provinces, accustomed to all the comforts and amenities of civilisation ; large landowners, planters, professional men, merchants, clergymen and the like. The least of the exiles had lost his trade or situation and his simple comforts, for which the primeval forests of Nova Scotia and Upper Canada could offer but a poor substitute. Some again were recent British settlers, such as Highlanders from North Carolina or Western New York, or Germans from Pennsylvania, with a personal loyalty to the Hanoverian Kings. A few, with lighter hearts no doubt, were German officers and soldiers of the regular forces subsidised for the war, who elected to take this opportunity of making a start in America.

Carleton had the greatest difficulty in collecting sufficient ships. He had repeatedly to encounter the protests of the American Government at his long delay in evacuating New York, to all of which he curtly replied that he should not embark a single soldier till the last loyalist had been shipped. That the conscience of many Americans soon began to prick them for this cruel and inhuman treatment we have ample evidence. But retribution came in surprising and dramatic fashion ; for thirty years later, when they flung their invading armies upon Canada to make of it a Fourteenth State, they found the sons of these exiles standing in every breach, fired with an hereditary hatred engendered by their bitter memories ; and they failed dismally.

We cannot do full justice here to the sufferings, courage and endurance of these United-Empire loyalists, the name which they were proud to bear, and their descendants to this day are proud to inherit. Nova Scotia is fertile and habitable only in strips and tracts. Much of it is barren and rocky, and to this day unsettled. Rough preparations had been made and even rude houses built on some of the surveys. But here were about

30,000 most penniless people of every rank and grade, pouring into a province with a population of about 16,000, including the old Acadians. Land selection had sometimes been faulty, occasioning subsequent migration after much futile suffering. Government supplies of all kinds fell lamentably short. The unprecedented task, simple on paper, proved in practice too big a one. Though better suited to facing the situation than a similarly composed company of European immigrants, it was bad enough. Numbers after a time gave it up and drifted away to Upper Canada, whose fertility at least had by then become matter of common report. Others braved the hostile atmosphere of the outer fringes of the neighbouring States.

But two-thirds probably remained; some on the better selected original surveys, where in some cases whole regiments were settled *en bloc*; others bought good lands in various districts. Such numbers too resorted to the fertile western shores of the Bay of Fundy and the St. John River, that the Province of New Brunswick was soon created, with the present St. John as its port. Some of the leaders, on half-pay or with possibly other small resources, and thus spared the backwoods ordeal, found occupation or office in Halifax. Despite the early struggles, with so much talent and in such numbers, it was inevitable that the U.E. loyalists should come in time to dominate both provinces, more especially New Brunswick. Moreover, in due course, though tardily, their respective shares in the compensation money voted by Parliament began to fall in, ease their lives, and facilitate such careers as they might choose to follow.

A handful had gone to the fertile Prince Edward Island, the diminutive third in the trio which constitutes "the Maritime Provinces" of Canada. One large influx, at the close of the century, contributed materially to the future of these Provinces, more particularly of Nova Scotia. For over 20,000 Scottish Highlanders, Protestant and Catholic, shifted in favour of pastoral interests, settled in that province, mainly in Cape Breton Island and neighbourhood. These people, though clannish, proved admirable settlers, loyal, law-abiding, and industrious; while their offshoots found their way to further success in every part of the Dominion from ocean to ocean. But the original stock is still fairly homogeneous in its earliest seats, and Gaelic is even yet spoken among the older people.

There was here no clash of race nor creed, for the small Acadian minority followed henceforward their simple unobtrusive ways in peace. The Provinces were overwhelmingly British and Protestant. The U.E. loyalist feeling naturally prevailed, and this was bitterly anti-republican, since the United States stood for all that a Republic meant. Those who, in the old colonies, had felt politically much as their neighbours till it came to open rebellion, were now more fiercely monarchical than even the average Englishman at home. This element, which included most of the better-born and educated, soon rose to the top. In Nova Scotia, Halifax, numerically swamping all the little country towns put together, exercised a disproportionate influence. Moreover, it became the constant resort of warships and garrisons, which helped to maintain English and anti-republican sentiments among the leading classes, who, till the middle of the nineteenth century, when the concession of responsible government tended to break their influence, governed the country as a virtual oligarchy.

The growth of these Provinces has been steady rather than remarkable, and their history from this time forward almost uneventful. Though the nearest to Europe, they have never received a large share of European emigration, which indeed, till after Waterloo, was very trifling to any part of British North America, while they both took from and gave a good deal to New England. Outside Halifax and perhaps St. John and the Highlander and Acadian districts, they came to represent, and to this day represent more nearly than any other Canadians, the British American of the late eighteenth century. The stir of the New World has to some extent passed them by. Immigration from the Old World has never come in strong enough waves greatly to affect their standards. They remain, save in spots, the most provincially-minded and perhaps the least progressive of British Canadians—though they have undoubtedly produced a fair number of distinguished men.

We must now return to that western wing of the U.E. loyalists who, out of the wild woods, founded British Canada. There were roughly ten thousand at the first planting. All the land being good, though terribly heavy to clear, and shifting about far more difficult than in the Maritime Provinces, there was little moving away, though a great deal of subsequent moving in. These people were settled in blocks. Seven loyalist regiments were represented, as well as some disbanded British and Hessian soldiers interspersed with civilian settlers, and these had even more to face and endure than the Nova Scotians. This "Upper Canada" was far more remote and difficult of access. There were no ocean ports, no Halifax, no ready-made Government, no old settlers. From Montreal, the western limit of Canadian civilisation and the nearest point of supply, it was a hundred and twenty miles up the St. Lawrence to Kingston, the first of the long string of new Loyalist settlements, which spread along the shaggy northern fringe of Lake Ontario and then again, after a long gap, clustered about the short Niagara River and the nearer shore of Lake Erie. The St. Lawrence afforded but tedious transport, being broken by rapids up which boats had to be laboriously dragged, for as yet there was no road through the dense woods which clothed the shores. Here the same mixed companies of exiles had all to bend their backs to the roughest pioneering work, in hot woods swarming with stinging insects in summer, and frozen stiff through the long bitter winter. Rough log shanties were their only shelter, and such scant clothes as they possessed were all they had to cover them. No live-stock worth mentioning was procurable till much later, when such few sheep as conditions so unsuitable to them could support and that escaped the numerous bears and wolves supplied wool for the domestic hand-looms. The individual grants ran from 200 to 2,000 acres, according to rank and other circumstances. But what were acres of primeval forest, for long years at any rate, to men with little more than an axe and a hoe ?

The promised Government supplies of animals and implements failed dismally ; not wilfully, but from sheer incapacity to transport a sufficient amount into that remote wilderness. Loaded boats stuck on shoals, or were broken on rapids ; cargoes got wet, or went bad ; others were caught in the ice. Through 1784 and 1785 enough got up at least to sustain life with the help of the abundant fish. Wild fowl in the autumn proved a welcome addition, but the deer grew quickly shy in the boundless woods before such an influx. A few oxen and ploughs had got through, but constant vigilance was required to guard the former from wild animals. The laboriously-cleared acre or two had in most cases to be scratched with hoes for the first scanty crops of grain and roots, though fortunately the soil itself was good. For years there was scarcity of common tools. There were no grindstones, no mills, grain being pounded between stones or cannon balls, no new clothes or blankets, no doctors, few drugs, and of course no churches or schools.

In 1787 came what is known as the " starving time." Extraneous supplies had almost ceased, the tiny crops had failed ; children ate the buds of basswood and eagerly plucked the first heads of rye or barley, while beef-bones were passed around from house to house to be boiled and reboiled. A thousand acres was offered for a bushel of potatoes! Such few cattle and sheep as there were had been of necessity eaten up. But at least these immigrants were for the most part not raw Europeans. They possessed the resourceful qualities of the colonial, though these were tested under unprecedentedly hard conditions. It should be mentioned too that large bodies of the Five Nation Indians, who had fought for the British and been burned out of their settlements by the Americans, had been granted land in Upper Canada. They proved of much service to their white co-loyalists, both in supplying game and in their special aptitude for meeting the worst emergencies of primitive forest life. The exiles were for the moment engrossed in maintaining a bare existence, all unconscious that they were founding the premier province, out of which was to grow a great new country, and incidentally creating a difficult new problem for the administration of Canada. For Canada had now ceased to be a little isolated French community with scarcely more than strategic interest for the British nation at large.

That these exiled loyalists won through their appalling difficulties will be apparent later. In the meantime other scattered groups of them had been settled on the fringes of the French seigneuries to the south of Quebec and Montreal. The French, and especially their clerics, were no little alarmed at this wholesale intrusion of heretics, though they owed enough to the indulgence of the British Government to preserve a decent silence.

XIII

BRITISH AND FRENCH CANADA, 1786–1812

HALDIMAND had gone home in 1784. He had done all that was humanly possible through a trying period and deserved well of his adopted country. But circumstances now demanded a first-rate, and if possible an experienced, ruler. Carleton, now created Lord Dorchester, was beyond question the man, and with some reluctance he returned to Quebec in 1786 for another term of years as Governor-General. Of Anglo-Irish stock, he was strong and reserved, just, but large-hearted. His young wife had been partly reared at the Court of Marie Antoinette, which pleased the French and made the Château St. Louis at Quebec a lively social centre for both nationalities, exerting an admirable influence and remaining in memory as a notable social epoch to succeeding generations.

Dorchester came out with unprecedentedly wide powers. He was Governor of all British North America, with Lieutenant-Governors in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton (not yet united to the last named) and Prince Edward Island. But these provinces presented few problems. Canada itself was the crux, and the more so as the U.E. loyalists had been followed by several thousands of what are known as "later loyalists," from the United States, nondescript people, hardy backwoodsmen mostly, who had escaped notice in the war, but preferred British rule or sometimes perhaps merely a free grant of British land. But there was as yet a great and deterring uncertainty in their belief that they would come automatically under laws made for the French—Popish and feudal laws as they considered them. So far, in their present isolation, no laws but those approved by their own sense of orderliness could affect the settlers; but they feared the future. The only way out of the difficulty was to divide Eastern and Western Canada into two Provinces, and this was accordingly done.

After much deliberation and a long debate in Parliament, which illustrated the incapacity of even famous statesmen to realise colonial conditions, the *Canada Act* was passed in 1791, dividing the country into two Provinces as it exists to-day. There were probably 100,000 French and about 10,000 British, mainly British Americans, then in Lower Canada, while in Upper Canada there were no French save a few fur-trading folk at the Lake Huron extremity, and perhaps by this time 20,000 British. These last, just struggling out of their early difficulties, were made happy by the Act. The Lower Canadian British, on the other hand, were bitterly disappointed. As a matter of fact, with an autocratic Governor and Council at Quebec they were perfectly safe, for they were free of all Church exactions, and in all matters of religion, education and land laws their own masters. The common law, to say truth, had got into such a tangle in the Province that it was interpreted in either French or English fashion according to the predilections of the Judge or nationality of the litigants. Later on it was codified to its present form.

As the usual form of colonial administration, i.e. a Governor, Council and Elective Assembly, was inevitable in the new U.E. loyalist Province, it could hardly be withheld from Lower Canada, though small demand was there made for it, while the bulk of the French did not even know what it meant. Still, there was a growing educated class in the towns, and the first Quebec Parliament was opened in December 1793. Of the Council eight were French and nine English, while one-fourth of the Assembly were English. Language in debate was made optional and the records were to be kept in both languages. The House opened with a loyal address of "joy and gratitude" to the King for calling them into existence to face that future which was not to prove all that they perhaps expected. For in that year the French Revolution, which was to shake the farthest corners of the earth, was an accomplished fact.

Upper Canada was allotted a Lieutenant-Governor, and General Simcoe was a quite felicitous choice. As a British officer he had commanded a New York loyalist corps during the war and gained both fame for himself and his regiment. But it was his civic enterprise that has made his name memorable in Canadian annals. He opened his first little Parliament of ten councillors and sixteen burgesses at Niagara, the temporary provincial capital, with great ceremony. The guns of the neighbouring fort thundered; the veterans of Butler's famous Rangers, who had settled on these townships, exchanged their tattered clothes for their old Green uniforms and escorted the Governor to the improvised Parliament-house, where he addressed them from an improvised throne on the unique and glorious circumstances which had given birth to their Province.

But the Province needed people, and Simcoe, who proved as ardent a coloniser as he had been a soldier, was the man to get them. Here, however, he had to encounter much opposition. The loyalist settlers regarded the country as peculiarly their own, and the new Republic, which had flung them out naked into the world, with a bitter hatred. They had regarded even the "later loyalists" with some suspicion. Immigration from the Old Country they would of course welcome, but to a new and third influx already beginning to flow in from south of the border they objected most strenuously. They had themselves come to Canada to keep the British flag flying, and had no desire to be pursued thither by potential rebels, who would doubtless in due course attempt to pull it down.

But Simcoe thought otherwise. He believed these newcomers could by good government be brought to observe the oath of allegiance they were required to take on settlement, in the spirit as well as in the letter. He proved partially right, as did also the U.E. loyalists. So Simcoe strove enthusiastically to people the waste. He surveyed lands, made roads and bridges, travelling himself hither and thither and addressing the groups of incoming settlers, when he encountered them, with words of welcome and admonition. For there was a great response from the neighbouring States, and for various good reasons. Some distrusted the new American Constitution with its higher taxation. Others feared the Indian troubles, excited by bad faith or by reckless American traders on their own western borders. To many again Upper Canada was actually nearer than the latter, while the reports as to Canadian soil were encouraging. Equally important too, it had been given a Constitution, on paper, very similar to that of their own individual States, and at any rate free from French laws and customs. Not that the fear of this last had deterred numbers from New Hampshire and Vermont from joining the loyalist settlers in Southern Quebec. More particularly they affected that fine border district which, later on, with the help of immigration from Britain, became agriculturally famous as "The Eastern townships," the only important British rural community in the French province.

In Simcoe's term of five years nearly 30,000 settlers were brought into Upper Canada, including fractions of New York Germans, Dutch Mennonites, and even Pennsylvanian Quakers. The bulk were British Americans, mostly with no political leanings, though a minority were suspected, and justly, of mischievous tendencies; while a more welcome element was that of disappointed loyalists from Nova Scotia. There were small groups too from Great Britain, planted by notable enthusiasts like Lord Selkirk, the Talbots, and Bishop McDonnell, whose clan, with other loyal Highland Catholics, settled the county of Glengarry towards Montreal. But British immigration was of small account till the Napoleonic wars were over. Great Britain, with her comparatively small population and host of enemies, needed all her people and discouraged any drain on them.

The old loyalists had mostly settled on the actual Lake shores, "The front," as the term had and still has it. By the end of the century they had emerged from the strangling forests into the daylight. The men of education, family and traditions had freed themselves by degrees from the hard elemental existence that circumstances had forced upon them. The compensation money, such as it was, had come in. Professional, commercial and official life gradually opened to the class best qualified to take advantage of it, though many retained blocks of wild land for gradual sale.

The farming, grazing or planting "country gentleman," such as existed in some of the American States and all our non-American Colonies, though sometimes such a one appeared, could never long survive the physical conditions, the low-priced products and high-priced labour of Canada, then and always pre-eminently the land of the one or two hundred-acre working freeholder. But a limited oligarchy from the U.E. loyalist element, fiercely anti-American and mostly Church of England, came to control Upper Canada even more than its equivalent controlled the Maritime Provinces. It gathered in and around the little growing towns and villages, and monopolised the higher trades, professions and official posts. All this was natural enough, but it made for an exclusive caste as opposed to the widely-scattered masses, too much absorbed in cutting homes out of the woods to concern themselves as yet with politics, with the graces of life or with the education that demands them.

Part of the American element, however, as foretold by the loyalists, became mischievous. From the French Revolution to the American War of 1812 Anglo-American relations were constantly strained, while American emissaries and local traitors were always busy. This further stiffened the backs of the loyalists. Their leaders filled the Executive and Council of Governor Simcoe's successors, and freely used their power of vetoing any mischievous legislation on the part of the Lower House. This was indeed fortunate for the country, which was not yet ripe for democratic theories and popular orators. It needed hard workers, led by patriotic strong men, prepared for the ever-threatening crisis and ready to fling themselves into the breach when it came. Simcoe made way in 1796, through failing health, for successors in no way remarkable. But with the reminder that the capital had been moved from Newark (Niagara) to York, the present Toronto, then a mere woodland site, we must leave Upper Canada to grow under conditions mainly of local interest to a population of about 80,000.

Dorchester, worn with age and anxious years, left Canada the same year as Simcoe. Between the sagacious statesman and Imperialist and the less gifted but energetic Governor of Upper Canada there had been no little friction. Simcoe's practical work achieved was admirable. He left in time, and his name deserves the encomiums it has received. But his forecasts, his ulterior aims and theories, his uncompromising European Toryism, would not have weathered the stormy

North American atmosphere. He irritated Dorchester, who better understood the subtleties of the New World, though himself, unlike Simcoe, very much of a grand seigneur. He lost little by this in Quebec, however, where in truth he had his own troubles. The French Revolution had finally alienated from France the Canadian Church and the small upper class. But once again the Province was flooded with emissaries both from France and the United States, who upset the credulous and ignorant populace. The one appealed to their French nationality with all the bombastic promises of the movement; the other with the old American clap-trap. What short shrift the Church, laws and language of French Canada would have received at the hands of their New England Puritan neighbours was, however, thoroughly understood by the better class of the French.

But at dangerous moments, when some of the militia were called out, most of the French rank and file again resisted the summons. Small grievances, such as delays in the local courts and the natural rise in land, were magnified into tyrannical designs. Serious sedition had been stirred up in the parishes round Quebec, the non-compliant being vaguely threatened with penalties savouring of "the Terror." Dorchester had a secret service of his own in the United States and knew all that was going on, and was constantly warning the Home Government of Canada's defenceless position should war break out, while loyalists of both nationalities secretly organised for their own protection. North America generally was just now very unquiet. The Spaniards who held the Lower Mississippi resented the growing aggression of the American borderers, and even suggested to the Canadian authorities that simultaneous efforts should be made to check them at each extremity.

At the same time Vermont, a frontier State full of hardy riflemen, had a long quarrel with the Washington Government and threatened secession to Canada, its natural trade outlet being towards the St. Lawrence. Its leaders made many and secret overtures in writing to Haldimand, Dorchester and even Simcoe in this direction, not very palatable to these high-minded soldiers. British garrisons still held many of the western posts beyond the Great Lakes as security under the Treaty of Peace for such poor concessions as had been wrung from Congress to any ruined loyalists who might venture to return. As these terms were not carried out, the British stuck to the posts, a situation which made for constant friction, as

Indians and American troops and borderers were continually fighting in their neighbourhood. Washington and his Government were sincerely anxious for some peaceful settlement; and they were backed by most of the northern States. The slave-owning South, however, led by Jefferson, hailed the French Revolution and received its firebrand emissaries with quite grotesque enthusiasm.

King George and his officials, once the war was over, had frankly accepted the position of losers and behaved with dignity and like gentlemen. It was left to the Americans, though winners, to do the other thing, and curiously enough the South was the chief offender, maintaining a consistently vindictive attitude till the war of 1812 taught it a crushing lesson. In the teeth of its clamours, however, Washington sent envoys to England, which resulted in Jay's Treaty and a settlement of the most pressing issues in Canada and elsewhere.

With Dorchester's departure the ill-trained French majority in the Assembly got out of hand. They imagined that a similar power and, in their natural ignorance, even more than the power of the English House of Commons, had been given them. Their financial ambitions were restricted by the fact that the Crown had to make up an annual deficit in the revenue and retained the civil list. They became preternaturally factious and oratorical over trifles and indifferent to such material needs of the country as called urgently for their attention. The British minority, who wanted roads, bridges and canals, resented this waste of time fast degenerating into apparent disloyalty. Racial friction, which had greatly softened, blazed out anew and, in the absence of strong Governors, split up society in Quebec and Montreal, while the illiterate rural parishes were exploited by mountebanks from France and the States.

England and France too were again at war in Europe, and though this did not immediately affect Canada, its echoes naturally aroused old memories. The severities of the *ancien régime* were forgotten in a new generation, its traditions idealised. The generous treatment of the English conquerors was forgotten in the irritating trifles and inevitable misunderstandings of the present. It was in a sense a three-cornered quarrel. The energetic rural British in the new townships resented the futility of the French Assembly, whilst the growing British mercantile class found offence in what seemed to them the hauteur of the official and garrison class. But as against the French these showed a united front, while a violent French press, the mouthpiece of the Assembly, made matters worse. The Church alone, horrified at the course of the French Revolution and with small love for the American Republic, kept quiet.

In 1807 General Craig came out as Governor, the last man to pour oil on the troubled waters. England's action towards neutral trade in her struggle with Napoleon had involved her in chronic difficulties with the United States. War was expected, and Craig, an old and tried soldier, was sent out on that account. Kindly and honest, he had no pretensions to statesmanship, unless an invincible Toryism be accounted one, and quite unjustly he remains a black sheep among Canadian Governors. He sent the House of Assembly about their business in curt fashion several times, rating them for their futile waste of the public time in empty talk and their impudent pretensions to govern the country single-handed. Personally, however, he was liked, while many admired what they regarded as his firmness and common sense. But he was ill, and old even for sixty. If he had arrived in Canada a sound man in the year he left it a dying one, a better appointment could hardly have been made. If the man who succeeded him in 1811 had come out in 1807 and retired in his favour, a more felicitous exchange of two capable but respectively ill-placed officials could not be found in history. For Prevost, who came out to be a war Governor, as it proved, was as ineffective in that situation as he was capable in the year of peace preceding it. Craig went home to die, though not before emphasising in person what he had endeavoured to drive in by despatches, that Canada required at least thrice the four thousand troops now stationed there to secure the country against her powerful neighbour.

Sir George Prevost was another Swiss, son of a brother-officer of Haldimand, Cramahé and Bouquet in the Royal Americans. Himself in that regiment, he had won a baronetcy by distinguished service in the West Indies, and made a popular Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. He had winning manners, wealth, a handsome presence, and spoke French like a native. In the short interlude prior to the war Prevost's conciliatory attitude worked wonders, for everyone liked him. He induced the Lower House to vote supplies for enrolling 2,000 militia. The stationary militia were, in part, actually mustered and drilled, a regiment of Voltigeurs raised under a French seigneur and officer in the 60th Rifles, de Salaberry, and £250,000 was voted. There were also in the province three battalions of regulars, two provincial corps of British Fencibles, and a few artillery.

War was declared by the United States on June 18, 1812. It was regarded in England, under the pressure of her titanic struggle with Napoleon, merely as an undesired, regrettable side-issue, and a further blow to oversea trade. The average Englishman gave little thought to Canada. But to Canada it meant life or death. Everyone knows the two chief indictments put forward by the United States against Great Britain. Firstly, the right of search for deserters in American ships; secondly, the various Orders in Council which, briefly summarised, prohibited neutrals from trading with countries under the sway of Napoleon. These Orders were replies to similar edicts of Napoleon against Great Britain. But there was another and still stronger object with that majority in the States represented by the Government at Washington, not much dwelt on by our historians, and that was the conquest and annexation of Canada. For this seemed in truth a simple achievement.

Now the Right of Search was an admitted principle: the difficulty here lay in identity of language. The high pay of the American navy had attracted great numbers of British seamen, and the impressment of American citizens became a contingent grievance. The ethics of that day did not hold that a man could legally throw off his nationality in a moment. It was a new American idea convenient to that country but repellent to Europeans. The Orders in Council had been meekly accepted in America from Napoleon, but there he could not effectively enforce them, though he had burnt on one occasion a million pounds' worth of their shipping. But Napoleon to the war-party was a demi-god. The home-keeping American to this day knows little enough of Europe. At that period they, or at least the South, the "War-hawks," were all stay-at-homes and knew still less. Their leaders, under Jefferson's inspiration, were mostly raw, heady, young and provincial. Madison, having just been elected as a "War President," had to swallow his own more temperate inclinations. These liberty-loving slave-owners regarded Napoleon as the destroyer of thrones and tyrannies, and just now he was marching to Russia to complete, as they thought, his democratic conquest of Europe, before settling with Great Britain.

The moment seemed admirable for injuring the Mother-country and seizing Canada. The New England States, speaking broadly, opposed all this vigorously. They hated Napoleon, and had no wish to quarrel with England. As a better-educated and sea-going people too, they knew more of the world and could make more allowance for England's hard-driven situation. They held meetings of protest all over the country, and in some cases threatened secession. What is more important, however, they in the main held aloof and took very little part in the war. Had they acted otherwise there is little doubt that the issue would have been different.

As it was, the situation of Canada seemed desperate enough. Congress voted the immediate enrolment of 35,000 regulars and 50,000 militia. In Canada there were about 4,000 regulars, the larger half in the French Province, the lesser in Upper Canada, under the command of Major-General Isaac Brock, who was also Lieutenant-Governor. His providential presence there probably altered the course of history. Of a well-known Guernsey family, Brock had risen by active service in Europe to command the 49th Regiment at the age of twenty-eight. Ten years' subsequent service with it in Canada had cut him off from distinction in European battlefields, but he had done spade-work in this remote corner of infinitely more importance to the Empire. He had designed fortifications, kept the troops in a high state of efficiency, and done much for the militia. Above all, in view of the coming struggle, he had inspired affection and respect among all classes of the British Canadians.

Brock understood both the theory and practice of war. Robust and active, he combined a fiery zeal for the service of his country with a personal magnetism well qualified to impart it to others. It became at once apparent that Upper Canada was to bear the brunt of the American attack, though its population was only 80,000, as against over 300,000 in the Lower Province. The ex-American disaffected or doubtful element too was strong, but that of the United Empire loyalists was stronger still and far more determined in the cause they represented, which was resistance to the death to their hereditary foes. A still larger proportion perhaps, though not disloyal, lacked ardour.

There was but one whole regiment in the Province (41st Welsh) and some other fragments, making in all 1,500 men. The U.E. loyalists volunteered wholesale, but there were only arms at first for about a thousand, and very little money or war material. To this was added a large wagon-transport, supplied and manned by farmers, while six hundred Indian warriors of the Reservations under the finest and noblest of all Indian chiefs, Tecumseh, came out to fight for their lands and their King. The lake and river frontier to be defended, from Lake Huron to Kingston, was about six hundred miles in length. Two American armies were to fling themselves upon it; a third to strike at Montreal. There was no hope of assistance from the 2,000 regulars and French militia required in the Lower Province, and little from England, as there were few troops to spare, while the now omnipotent British fleet could not reach the Canadian lakes, nor was the little fleet, indispensable on these last, yet built, as it should have been.

Such was the parlous condition of the Canadas in the summer of 1812.

It is as regrettable as it is imperative that this three years' heroic defence of Canada against enormous odds, so glorious to the small British garrisons and the loyal Canadians who aided them, must be dealt with here in rather summary fashion. American historians have so treated it for obvious reasons. Our own, absorbed in the Napoleonic wars, and bored by numerically small movements in remote, unfamiliar scenes they cannot visualise, have never attempted to understand it. The bare incidents are perfunctorily related, while, following American writers, a few American victories in frigate duels, which had hardly more effect on the war and its vital issue than so many yacht-races, are duly chronicled as an offset to these reverses by land. The war is finally dismissed and with obvious relief as an inconclusive one. When it is remembered that none of the conditions for which the Americans formally contended were even mentioned in the Peace Treaty of 1815, and that the great object for which they really fought, the conquest of Canada, was a dismal failure, one is inclined to ask, What then is defeat and what is victory?

XIV

THE AMERICAN WAR OF 1812

General Hull with 2,500 men led off the attack on Canada from Detroit, which confronts its narrow river connecting Lakes Erie and Huron, and divides the State of Michigan from western Upper Canada. He issued one of those portentous, pseudo-Napoleonic proclamations then in vogue with Americans to the Canadian people, offering them freedom from British tyranny, the invaluable blessings of political, civil and religious liberty and the dignity of freemen. He had a force, he declared, that would bear down all opposition and threatened them, if such were shown, with all the horrors of war, to which, if the loyal Indians rose in defence of their homes, should be added a war of extermination without quarter. These are but flowers culled from this remarkable peroration, which was followed at once by raids on Canadian border-farms.

Within a month, this bombastic veteran of the old war, together with all his force, armaments and stores, had surrendered unconditionally to Brock as prisoners of war. For the latter, detained for the moment, had hurried on Colonel Procter with a small advanced force, who drove the Americans back over the river to Detroit. Brock soon followed in person with more men and a few guns. At the head of 700 regulars and militia and 600 Indians under Tecumseh, he skilfully manœuvred Hull into the fort at Detroit, which, after some delay, he surrendered, together with his whole force, on August 16. This humiliating incident aroused a storm of rage through all the bellicose States, while the New Englanders hardly veiled their sneers.

In Canada its effect was electrical and lent fresh vigour to her defenders. Procter went on with 500 troops and as many Indians to a freezing winter campaign in the American territory of Michigan, with the intention of checking the fresh troops coming up against Canada from Kentucky and elsewhere. Many sharp and successful little battles were fought in the snow, till, overcome by fresh hordes of men under General Harrison, Procter had to fall back in the spring on the frontier, where a little British fleet, hurriedly built on Lake Erie, made the enemy's immediate advance into Canada too hazardous. In the meantime Brock, whose activities in action and organisation had been ceaseless, hurried back to the Niagara River, where the American "Army of the Centre," 6,000 strong, was on tip-toe to leap into Canada, and regarded the issue as a foregone conclusion. Brock had at his disposal only 1,200 men, regulars and militia; the former in a high state of discipline, the latter ready to die to a man for the cause they were defending, and all commanded by a General whom they adored. Still the odds seemed hopeless enough, not merely in a military sense, but in view of the overwhelming resources of a nation with an already larger population than the whole Dominion of Canada has to-day.

Queenstown, on the Canadian side of the river, between Niagara Falls and Lake Ontario, was the objective point of the

Americans, and a large camp for the further conquest of Upper Canada was to be there formed. The river is here some 300 yards wide, swift though navigable, with high ground on both sides; while at various points along its thirty-mile length from Lake Erie to Ontario were opposing forts, British and American. The Americans, under General Van Rensselaer, were distributed along their own shore, but in a position to concentrate swiftly at any point below the Falls for a crossing into Canada. This made necessary a division of Brock's small defending force, as none could tell where the blow would fall, nor could any definite spot be heavily fortified even had the means to do so been available.

It was before daybreak on October 13 that Van Rensselaer delivered his attack in a flotilla of boats from the shore opposite Queenstown. Brock himself was at Fort George, seven miles below at the mouth of the river, where the attack had seemed most likely. When the sound of firing proclaimed its development, he rode at full speed for Queenstown, leaving his men to follow at best pace. Some 300 regulars and militia in the meantime, with one small battery, were doing their best to ward off the attacking boats, of which they sunk some and did much execution among others. But though a landing was in the end effected by the enemy's regulars, the sight of the killed, and of the wounded returning to the American shore, so upset their raw militia that their enthusiasm for a profitable promenade through Canada went out like a damp squib, and they refused to move. Nor did they, but remained spectators of the eventual defeat and capture of their more enterprising comrades.

But this was not to happen quite yet, for after much desultory fighting the Americans gained the summit of a steep hill known as Queenstown heights and occupied it securely with about 1,200 men. In the sharp and scattered skirmishes preceding this, and while charging uphill against an American battery, Brock had fallen dead, shot in the breast. His loss seemed for the moment irreparable, yet it served to fire the ardour of his soldiers in avenging their beloved chief. It was now past noon. There had been a long lull in which Van Rensselaer, his foot now securely planted in Upper Canada, had been vainly endeavouring to persuade his 3,000 militia to cross the river.

Colonel Sheaffe, now in command of the British, had in the meantime been heavily engaged at Fort George in an artillery duel with the American Fort Niagara across the river. To storm the hill with the weak force available seemed a doubtful enough business; but it was a last chance, and Sheaffe determined to try it. Deducting the small companies required for watching the river-banks, he mustered in all about 380 regulars, 500 militia and 150 Indians. By a circuitous march of some miles he reached the back or landward side of the hill, where, charging up it with the utmost determination, his men delivered one volley and then fell on with the bayonet. The Americans were rather crowded for space on the summit, while in their rear was a woody steep over the river, in parts precipitous. The impetuosity of the charge carried all before it. Numbers of the enemy were hurled over the cliff or drowned in the river; ninety were slain, some escaped. But eventually General Wadsworth in command surrendered with 900 men.

Such was the battle of Queenstown Heights, next to the Plains of Abraham the most cherished spot of bygone strife in Canada, though many are more deeply bloodstained or the scene of fiercer struggles between larger forces. Brock was buried in a bastion of Fort George. His influence and his memory nerved many an arm in the coming struggle, but as a leader he had no comparable successor, though many worthy ones. A stately column to his memory now surmounts the lofty hill on whose breast he fell.

The chagrin of the Americans at this second disaster was intense, while the Canadians took further heart. Another attempt at the Lake Erie end of the river failed, and nothing else but desultory skirmishing occurred during that season in the western field of action.

An attack on Montreal threatened by General Dearborn with 8,000 men never developed. That General lay for the whole autumn at the foot of Lake Champlain within forty miles of his objective point, opposed by a brigade of regulars, French and British militia numbering about 2,000 men, with whom he interfered but little till winter drove him home. The incompetency of the American Generals was largely due to the political exigencies of a democracy which made lawyers generals and professional soldiers only colonels. Further reasons of American failure were the peculiar ignorance of war of the party in power, the aloofness of the best of New England, and finally the persistent refusal of a raw but boastful militia to keep their faces to the foe.

The French, despite the bitter racial friction hitherto existing, behaved on this occasion excellently. They supplied the garrisons for the towns and several hundred men to the active forces on the frontier. But Lower Canada, though constantly threatened, was seldom seriously engaged. She bordered the quasi-neutral New England States, with whom there remained a sort of understanding and a regular flow of trade. She had, moreover, a much larger population and a stronger force of regulars, besides access to the sea. It was on the isolated, ill-equipped Upper Province that the Americans concentrated their main attack. That once occupied, the rest would be simple. The season of 1813 was to inaugurate fresh efforts. The New Englanders in Congress denounced the invasion of Canada as "a cruel, wanton, senseless and wicked attack upon an unoffending people, bound to us by ties of blood and good neighbourhood." The Southerners replied grandiloquently that "The St. Lawrence must be crossed by a well-appointed army of 30,000 men, another corps of 10,000 must threaten Halifax by way of Maine, the honour of our nation requires that the British power on our borders should be annihilated." And then came the news of Napoleon's failure in Russia. The "War-hawks" were sorely disconcerted; the New Englanders, who hated Napoleon, were proportionately gratified, and the hard-pressed Canadians rejoiced.

The American army was now increased to 55,000 men, besides innumerable militia. The Canadas had in this year, 1813, barely 7,000 regular troops, including five colonial corps, together with such British militia as could be armed and fed and some practically untrained French militia. Upper Canada was short of everything, arms, clothes, stores, medicines and money. Sheaffe was now in command, while Prevost was proving a most inefficient war-Governor, the situation being only saved by the admirable spirit of those under him. Prevost was timid, wavering, and lacked foresight, though touchy and jealous of his position. He was over-anxious about his own immediate Province, while inclined to neglect and despair of the open gate through Upper Canada, the holding of which alone could save him.

Partly owing to Prevost's folly, and partly to their greater means and facilities, the Americans had launched a strong fleet on Lake Ontario. Ogdensburg, on the river below it, heavily fortified and one of their most dangerous bases, had been gallantly attacked on the ice, stormed and destroyed by Colonel McDonnell, an immigrant Highland officer, with 500 men, and one eye closed to Prevost's remonstrances. Dearborn, now in command of the Americans, next moved on Kingston with 5,000 regulars and [illegible]000 militia; but, changing his mind, he sailed up the lake with nearly half his regulars and captured the little capital of Toronto, though the latter was gallantly defended for most of a day by Sheaffe and 600 men, who got safely away. After the surrender, which granted immunity to all property, the Government buildings, with records, the library and church, were all destroyed. In the following year the Capitol at Washington was burned by the British in retaliation. Green and other English writers, echoing American historians, raise loud outcries at what they describe as an act of barbarism. The former show complete ignorance of the cause of it, though it was officially proclaimed: American historians, though perfectly aware of this, suppress it.

The Toronto-York affair was otherwise unimportant, as the Americans recrossed the lake, and Dearborn went westward to the Niagara River. Here he launched 4,000 men across it against Fort George under the guns of his fleet on Lake Ontario. The garrison of 1,300 men made a spirited defence, but, raked by the fire both of Fort Niagara and the American fleet, the gunners were all killed and the fort was rendered untenable. So, after spiking his guns, Brigadier-General Vincent, in command on this frontier, withdrew the garrison and his scattered units into the interior, abandoning the river-line to the Americans.

Things were now going badly. Vincent had retired to the ridge where Hamilton now stands, the Americans in force pushing after him. But his resourceful subordinate, Major Harvey, who won great distinction in this war and subsequently became a notable Lieutenant-Governor in the Maritime Provinces, performed a great and valuable achievement. Leading 700 bayonets by a long night-march through the woods, he fell on the camp of the foremost American army, 3,000 strong, carelessly guarded and asleep, with cold steel, and scattered them to the winds, capturing 1,000 prisoners. This led to Vincent fighting his way back with such success that the Niagara front from lake to lake was once more in possession of the British, who had now a fleet on Lake Ontario under Captain Yeo able to cope with that of the enemy.

Procter, having swept through Michigan, had now retired to Sandwich at the west corner of Lake Erie, in order to release his militia for farming operations, vital to the Province. The American General Harrison was crowding up against him with 5,000 men, including 2,000 mounted Kentucky riflemen. Small though was Procter's force of 700 overtaxed regulars and Tecumseh's Indians, Harrison could not push on into Canada while the Detroit River was controlled by a little British fleet under Captain Barclay. But the Americans had now a fleet of nine ships on Lake Erie, so Barclay, reduced to a day's rations, had no choice but to come out and fight it with his six vessels. The Americans were far heavier too in weight and guns and carried 500, mostly sailors and marines, as opposed to Barclay's force of 150 sailors and 250 of the much-enduring soldiers of Procter's Welsh regiment, hastily embarked.

For many contributory reasons, the fate of Upper Canada now seemed to hang on the issue of this little sea-fight. It lasted for some hours and was contested with great fury, most of the ships being fought to the water-line. Victory remained with the two or three American ships which could still be navigated among a dozen shattered hulks. Barclay, himself badly wounded, lost a third of his men. Lake Erie remained to the Americans, and " Perry's victory " has rung down their history, possibly as the only complete one in the whole Canadian war. For the subsequent overwhelming of poor Procter with his handful of fever-stricken veterans and small body of Indians by Harrison's hordes as he tried to get back to Niagara could hardly be accounted a battle, though the brave Tecumseh was killed and scalped or worse. Procter, who escaped, was court-martialled for undue delay in retreat, and thus a fine year's personal record was sullied. Harrison, with 3,500 men, raided up and down the Thames Valley and then retired across the border, dismissed his militia, and repaired with his regulars to Niagara.

Severe fighting on the Niagara frontier, with raids and counter-raids across it, continued throughout this autumn. After the capture of Fort George and Vincent's retreat, Prevost in a panic had sent orders that Western Canada should be evacuated. A Council of War, however, decided that the order should be ignored. An American militia Colonel, on being forced to evacuate the flourishing little Canadian town of Newark, the former capital, wantonly burned it to the ground, driving its 500 inhabitants out into the below-zero temperature of a December night. As a reprisal, the whole American frontier from Fort Niagara to Buffalo was wasted and laid in ashes.

With the new year of 1814 not an American soldier remained on Canadian soil, while the British had captured and still held the American fort of Niagara. Throughout the season the disloyal and pro-American element in Upper Canada had given a good deal of secret assistance to the enemy, but the bulk of the people had stood firm, while all the militia that could be armed and fed had fought valiantly.

In the meantime a great campaign against Montreal had been organised by the Americans. Two armies were collected: the one of nearly 9,000 men under Wilkinson, an old Revolutionary soldier, the other of nearly 6,000 under Wade Hampton, an amateur from South Carolina. Wilkinson's base was Sackett's Harbour at the nearer end of Lake Ontario, whence he was to descend the St. Lawrence on Montreal (150 miles). Hampton lay near the foot of Lake Champlain and was to march down the Châteauguay River (30 miles) and join Wilkinson just above the city.

Montreal was ill-fortified. It was garrisoned by the French sedentary militia, whose disposition was now beyond doubt, but its efficiency, happily not tested, was more than doubtful. The only trained troops available outside for checking Wilkinson were two regular battalions, some companies of Fencibles and Voltigeurs and a few artillery, in all not over a thousand men. Rather more, of fair quality and discipline, watched the country between Hampton and Montreal. The whole were under the command of Prevost, but led by brilliant subordinates. To the readers of these facts and figures the case of Montreal must appear as absolutely hopeless. Even to the historian who has followed every movement and knows the ground and a thousand circumstances impossible to touch on here, the whole business is well-nigh inexplicable. Granted that both American Generals were inefficient, and even that they both drank, as their countrymen say, while as we know they were jealous of each other, still both had many competent officers and many regiments of brave and fairly disciplined men under them, and ample equipment. It will almost seem, when the facts are briefly summarised, as if Providence had miraculously intervened on behalf of a small struggling people who so stoutly helped themselves.

Wilkinson did not get off till October and was very slow. Colonel Morrison, commanding the watching force, after frequent skirmishes with the enemy's rear-guard forced it to face about with two and a half brigades on November 11, and at the head of 800 men cleverly handled won the pitched battle of Chrysler's farm, which incidentally saved Montreal. For the depression which it wrought on the American General was intensified by the news received next day, that Hampton had failed him. It is enough here that Wilkinson faced about with his 8,000 men, the precise number with which Wolfe had captured the embattled heights of Quebec held by a skilful General and 16,000 troops, and marched home again.

The still stranger story of Hampton's escapade must be briefly told. He started from his camp in late October, timing the movement to Wilkinson's expected arrival—for of Intelligence Service there was none—at the agreed-upon rendezvous near Montreal. He had with him 4,000 regulars and 1,500 militia, besides some cavalry and artillery. In front of him was the French-Canadian officer, Major de Salaberry, commanding 400 Voltigeurs and Fencibles and 200 Indians. Supporting these were Colonel McDonnell with 600 French militia whom he had partially trained. Nearer Montreal were some companies of a colonial British regiment. The cream of the active Canadian force, as before stated, were engaged far up the St. Lawrence with Wilkinson. There was practically nothing more to save Montreal against both these American armies save some well-disposed but untrained French militia in the city.

De Salaberry, however, was not a man to forgo a chance of distinction and service. With some audacity, he lightly entrenched himself in some woods across Hampton's line of march, with his Voltigeurs further protected by a stream on his left flank, which McDonnell guarded with his militia. Hampton now behaved as if a formidable army confronted him. He sent one-half of his own at de Salaberry's barricaded front, and the other half a circuitous march through the forests to fall on his stream-defended flank. This last division straggled in the woods, never reached their goal in any strength, fired on one another by mistake, and finally got lost in the dark.

The frontal attacking force, in the meanwhile, soon carried the first outwork, but were held up for the moment by a second. During this check the resourceful de Salaberry had caused bugles to be blown all over the woods in his rear, as if reinforcements were coming up, and his Indians to distribute their warwhoops in like fashion. In any case the attack was not seriously pressed, and the Canadians remained on the ground.

But the amazing part was to come; for on the following day, to the disgust of his own men, the astonishment and relief of the little forces ahead of him, which he could have brushed away in his stride, Hampton decided to return to Lake Champlain, and did so permanently, giving lack of provisions as an excuse. Such was the battle of Châteauguay, notable in Canadian story as the only one fought by the French alone during the war, of which they were justly proud: a mere skirmish, to be sure, for the combined casualties were under a hundred. But it stopped Hampton and so gave Wilkinson a rather poor excuse for retreating—which he seized upon. Their joint conduct aroused a tempest of indignation, but neither was court-martialled!

The Legislatures of both Canadas met this winter. That at Quebec, fairly removed from war's alarms, voted the money credits for carrying it on, but reverted to their old foolish wrangling with the Government for not granting them what the politically-trained people of neither Upper Canada nor the Maritime Provinces had got or expected yet to get—the full privileges of the British House of Commons. Sir Gordon Drummond, now Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, also met his Council and Assembly at the ruins of York, less such few members as had been killed, imprisoned or had fled to the Americans as traitors. Measures adapted to the urgency of the moment were quickly passed, for there was no call for abstract eloquence just then on the shores of Lake Ontario.

The first move of the opening season was the reappearance of Wilkinson on the Montreal frontier with 4,000 men, bent on retrieving his disgrace. Moving from Hampton's old quarters on Lake Champlain across the border, he met with a severe repulse at Lacole from a far inferior British force, chiefly of the 13th Regiment. Upon this he returned to his base and thence to retirement and a singularly indulgent court-martial. It is worth noting that a point in his defence was the "desperate bravery" of his enemy.

There was more of both sea and land fighting about Kingston this year, but most of the serious work was along the old bloodstained course of the Niagara frontier. Though hardly yet realised in Canada, the crisis was in fact over. Peace had come in Europe, and America's ally Napoleon was at Elba. The hands of the British army were free, and 16,000 of Wellington's Peninsular veterans were under orders for Canada, a few of whom came in during the early summer.

If Canada had been left to fight on unaided another year, the issue must have been more than doubtful. For the American regular troops, when properly led, were developing by experience the soldierly qualities one would naturally expect. The amateur political generals were disappearing before the outcry of the public and the capacity shown by many subordinate officers. Their incapable War Office blundered on, but the resources latent in such comparatively large forces of men constantly in the field must ultimately have told in so one-sided a struggle. The situation hitherto was not unlike that of French Canada under Montcalm. Fortunately Great Britain, by her very triumphs in Europe, was freed at the critical moment to achieve what France in her defeats could not attempt.

General Riall, giving way occasionally to his superior Drummond, commanded this summer on the Niagara frontier with still only 2,500 men, slightly increased later, against 8,000 of the enemy. There was little rest from small but bloody engagements, attacks on forts, and raids and counter-raids. On July 25 the battle of Lendy's Lane above the Falls and the most hotly contested of the war, was fought by 3,000 British, including militia, against 4,000 Americans. The battle raged for five hours and far into the night with no definite result but the loss of 1,000 men to either side, till sheer exhaustion put an end to it. Two Peninsular regiments came west soon afterwards, and with more sharp frontier-fighting the country was quite clear of the enemy when winter sealed it up and Peace was in sight.

Wellington's regiments had by this time arrived in Lower Canada and put the issue of the war beyond doubt. Prevost, however, whose half-hearted, timid, vacillating, yet obstinate conduct had throughout been the despair of his officers, provided a deplorable finish to these two glorious years. Though Canada might be safe, it was intimated to him from home that a large contingent of what at that moment were probably the best troops in the world were not sent out to sit in quarters. He was unfortunately in command and set out in fine autumn weather with 11,000 of these veterans to invade New York State by way of Hampton's and Wilkinson's old quarters on Lake Champlain. It was now no longer the wilderness of the old wars, but more or less a country of farms and roads.

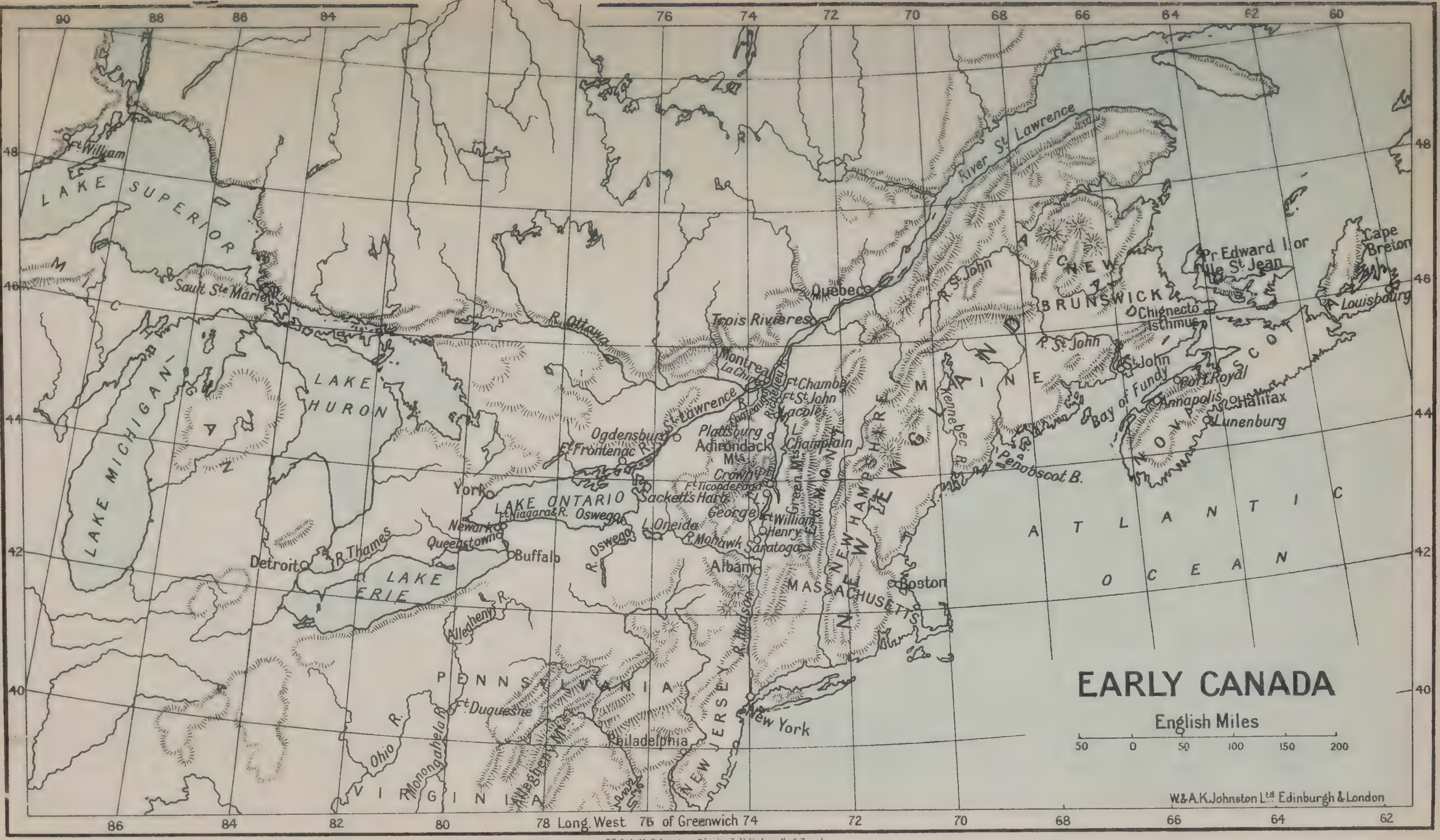
Fifteen hundred American regulars and a mob of militia, which last, writes their General Macombe, ran at the sight of the British, retired skirmishing before Prevost. But the latter, though no other force was ahead of him, was so slow and deliberate that Macombe, an excellent officer, had time to entrench himself at Plattsburg, on the Lake shore 25 miles south of the frontier. He had little idea of serious resistance to such a force but merely intended to cause a brief delay, and he notes with admiration the sublime indifference of these old soldiers to the balls his guns threw among them. Unfortunately a small British flotilla, which Prevost regarded as vital to his further progress and which he had brought south into the Lake and undertaken to protect, was destroyed under his eyes by American ships without any attempt at protection. Prevost, now in front of the hastily-raised American entrenchments, which the experienced officers around him undertook to carry in twenty minutes, decided, to their rage and mortification and the amazement of his enemy, to face about and return home. Nothing would ever move this wrong-headed man. His business was to smash up the little force in front of him and capture its *matériel* at least, and then decide whether or no it were desirable to pursue the road south while five American sloops sailed the Lake.

As it was, after actually exchanging shots with Macombe's redoubt, he destroyed his stores, turned tail and marched back to Montreal with his eleven thousand exasperated veterans, who had chased the French from victory to victory over the Pyrenees. He was subsequently summoned home to give an account of the business, but, though not yet fifty, he died under the suspense of a deferred court-martial. There is some parallel here with Hampton's conduct, save that Montreal was a vital object to the Americans, and New York State of none whatever to the British save as a war move. But Prevost besmirched the honour of his service and his country. For uncritical American historians to this day relate how a handful of their soldiers repulsed an army of Wellington's veterans. British historians might perhaps retaliate, with more justice, on the subject of the French-Canadian action at Châteauguay !

XV

THE GREAT BRITISH INFLUX

THE Peace Preliminaries were signed at Ghent on December 24. The Americans had fought and suffered in vain. They had failed to make a "fourteenth State" of Canada, while the original points in dispute were not even mentioned in the Treaty. The whole business made for disintegration rather than unity among themselves, and half a century later broke out the Civil War. Even Jefferson's planting and slave-owning friends had had enough of it and had painfully realised what Sea-power meant. The British blockade of the coast had temporarily ruined American trade. Three years' produce of the bellicose planting States were rotting in the warehouses.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Ft. William
Sault Ste Marie
LAKE MICHIGAN
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Oswego
R. Oswego
L. Oneida
R. Mohawk
Sackett's Harb.
Ft. Frontenac
Ogdensburg
R. St. Lawrence
Montreal
La Chine
Trois Rivières
Quebec
River St. Lawrence
Ft. Chambly
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Lacole
Plattsburg
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MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMPSHIRE
VERMONT
NEW ENGLAND
Green Mts.
MAINE
Kennebec R.
Penobscot B.
R. St. John
St. John
NEW BRUNSWICK
ACADIA
Chignecto Isthmus
Bay of Fundy
Port Royal
Annapolis
Halifax
Lunenburg
NOVA SCOTIA
Pr. Edward I. or Ile St. Jean
Cape Breton
Louisbourg
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PENNSYLVANIA
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They were heartily sick of the war, and it was small comfort that England, to whom it was a side-issue, had suffered only less than themselves and was thoroughly sick of it also. Of the British Provinces, only Upper Canada had suffered at all; but as it was still in great part an undeveloped country, the injuries were partial and but skin deep. Lower Canada, on the other hand, had prospered greatly by war-prices; the Maritime Provinces still more so, as the focus of North American British trade and lucrative privateering. By an irony of fate the intended victims of this foolish war alone profited by it; while the Canadas, particularly Upper Canada, reaped in addition the inspiring prestige of victory.

Canada now ceased to be a pawn in international struggles. Its days of romance and tragedy were over, save for such as must always illumine the shifting of old communities over great oceans into the heart of virgin forests. These waves of diverse Britons, and the counties and townships each separate group of them cut out of the woods, generally perpetuating by name the memory of the old homes whence they came, are the true history of Canada for the next half-century. Parliaments, politics, racial squabbles, might well seem almost petty to anyone familiar both with these now wide-open, populous and prosperous districts, and, through written records and oral traditions, with the first winning of them from the wilderness. One feels that it is these struggles in the forests, whether of U.E. loyalists from New York or the Carolinas, or adventurers and philanthropists in later days, who planted their hundred here or their thousand there, of labourers, farmers, soldiers, weavers, gentlemen, whether from Sussex or Lanarkshire, Devon or Down, that are the real makers of Canadian history, rather than the Governors and politicians whose names chiefly punctuate it in the printed page.

The Peace of 1815 threw great numbers of every class out of employment, and emigration to British North America, the only Dependency then suitable for it, became the universal panacea; and an excellent one it proved. The Government took it up energetically, followed by Philanthropists, Societies, Landowners and Companies. The times were bad, low wages approaching starvation-point were the lot of most even of the employed. But first the thousands of disbanded soldiers were to be provided for. Free passage, a grant of land, implements and a year's maintenance were the liberal terms offered, and they were widely accepted. Officers had proportionately larger grants, while in many cases certain regiments, by selection of districts, kept their members together. Surveyors became busy from Lake Huron to Halifax. But there was not much good land still available for group settlement in the Maritime Provinces, whereas in the Canadas it was for immediate purposes illimitable. So immigration, which poured in with increasing volume till the middle of the century, went mainly westward.

Canada may in truth be called the child of war, founded and nurtured by the sons of war. Through the Old French régime her people were continually in arms against the Indians or their British neighbours. She was re-born as a Franco-British country largely by the labour and courage of ex-soldiers, and side by side with the troops of the Crown these same martial people had just emerged with glory from an unequal war. It seemed perfectly natural, as well as politic and economical, that the superfluity of the British army should now be given opportunities to repeat the peaceful achievements of their predecessors. But then these had been mostly of American birth or at least of American experience, which made all the difference.

The post-Waterloo soldiers did not all fare so well, but some of them did, and above all their children did, which mattered even more. Moreover, both officers and soldiers mostly brought pensions, or the money of commuted pensions, which alleviated their conditions and also helped the country. With the military settlers and following them in successive waves came a great stream of other sorts. Highlanders, who alone had formed any appreciable old-country element before the war, came out in fresh numbers and, though clannish and not very progressive, in grouped colonies made excellent citizens and threw out numbers of able men who rose to prominence in the various provinces. The Lowlands of Scotland, too, continued conspicuous in the movement. Small farms were being there absorbed under the enterprise of Scottish agriculture into large ones. Labour was in any case over-abundant. The weavers who often combined small culture with the work of their domestic looms, were working for a pittance. Many of these got the same terms as soldiers and often settled among them. The towns of Lanark, Renfrew and Perth, north of Kingston, recall the original settlement of about ten thousand civilians and ex-soldiers from these counties in the twenty years after the Peace.

This is a mere passing example of what was happening all over Upper Canada and to a less degree in those districts of Southern Quebec known as " The Eastern townships." Ulster Protestants, whose kinsmen had taken and were still taking such an active part in the making of the United States, now came freely into Canada ; but England was of course numerically the largest contributor. Self-aid societies also arose in various counties to subsidise the Government efforts. The Canada Company, under Galt, the famous Scottish novelist, who threw his whole energies into it, acquired immense tracts towards Lake Huron and settled thousands of emigrants upon them. The Talbots directly or indirectly settled whole new counties along Lake Erie, and their names still live upon the map. Mr. Dickson from Dumfriesshire founded the town and district of Galt with men of his own county. Lord Egremont of Petworth assisted hundreds of emigrants from Sussex and Surrey. Wiltshiremen favoured the neighbourhood of Guelph. Local dialects marked several districts till the basic " American " of the pre-war inhabitants wiped out all such imported vernaculars save German, Gaelic and the dogged Doric of the Lowland Scot.

An eccentric Highland chief, one Macnab, settled towards the Ottawa with some of his clan and kept up his character of a feudal chief among them, decorations and all, till his death. Germans from New York State founded Berlin and Waterloo county, which are racially German to this day. Nor was anyone more active than Lord Selkirk, who not only settled patches of Upper Canada and made his bold adventure on the Hudson Bay territory in remote Manitoba, but half filled the fertile Prince Edward Island with Highlanders, whose progeny are still *in situ*.

The reader may be surprised to hear that no Roman Catholic Irish to speak of had ever gone to any part of North America, for reasons too intricate for mention here. Indeed the term " Irish " in eighteenth-century American parlance applied solely to the Ulster Protestants. In 1825 however 2,000 were settled around where the flourishing town of Peterborough now stands, behind Lake Ontario, and their descendants have thriven, as quiet though backward agriculturists, enveloped by as Scotch and Orange a community as there is in Canada. These are but examples of what went forward, not only in Canada but in a minor degree in the less favoured provinces.

The long voyage in the small and crowded sailing-ships of those days was a thing in itself of dread and dire discomfort to most of these people. But on in the thirties, when the wave touched high-water mark at 50,000 a season, overcrowded fever-haunted ships caused grave scandals and Government interference. But the Atlantic voyage was not all. The progress to Upper Canada, often loaded as emigrants were with personal effects—for manufactured articles were scarce in Canada—and with provisions for the long inland journey, was a serious business. For a long time the St. Lawrence, from Montreal, the head of navigation, was the only channel, and the 150-mile journey was made in *bateaux* and whale-boats—which had to be unloaded and hauled up each rapid. At Kingston there was another long water-voyage up Lake Ontario, and then laborious journeys over rough corduroy roads or no roads into the interior.

But the ordinary emigrant of that day had some points in his favour. He was generally a countryman, and used to hard field labour, though the initiatory axe-work had to be painfully learned. He was leaving a life of poverty to find a rough abundance. The flies and mosquitoes he could not escape, but unlimited firewood modified the extremes of winter cold. Once settled, he could not very well get away, and thus he won through that first intimidating period which so often unsettled his successors, who, in touch with communications of all kinds, were and are too apt to throw up the task and start on unprofitable wanderings.

All cereals flourished on these virgin soils. It was slow work but sure. The first settler, from his log house, cleared perhaps fifty acres in his first decade, and his crops grew among the slowly decaying stumps. His son in due course increased the area, replaced the log house and out-buildings with one of neat painted weather-boarding and large frame barns amid fields now clear of stumps. The grandson perchance erected a substantial brick or stone dwelling, farmed scientifically and raised pedigree stock in much the same environment as a farmer in Kent or Sussex, except that he worked himself and still works for ten to fourteen hours a day. There is no better-handled or finer agricultural country in all North America to-day than much of Ontario, the old Upper Canada. All this, to be sure, is not conventional history, but it is the history of much that Canada stood for till a generation ago.

But to return to political matters: Toronto arose from its ashes and grew apace. Sir Gordon Drummond, who had successfully commanded there in the last year of the war, became Lieutenant-Governor, followed by Sir John Sherbrook. But the British Governors who presided over Upper Canada for the next quarter of a century call for little comment, seeing that the "Family Compact," to use the current term, had mostly its own way. Now, the leading loyalist families, backed for a time by their rank and file, felt more than ever after the war that the country would only be safe in their hands, that demagogues, democrats, republicans, must at all costs be kept at arm's length. At the moment there was much to be said for this. The popular Assembly contained a large element and sometimes a majority, which the "Compact" interest regarded as pestilent. For it was largely the American-born, post-loyalist settlers that represented the popular vote. The Compact, however, monopolised the Upper House, the Executive and the Judiciary usually managed the Governor, and threw out with impunity the bills of protest passed by the Assembly. If this little oligarchy was reactionary and high-handed, its opponents were undoubtedly premature in many of their aspirations and much too fond of quoting American institutions and sometimes even given to intrigue across the border.

The bitter memory of the war and the treachery of an element in Upper Canada was too recent for any compromising with men who thought that way. So the Compact held tight to every source of power, and incidentally profited no little from it, for there were still large areas of Crown lands which, without actual illegality, could be manipulated for the benefit of the governing class. To this party became attached, for social and conservative reasons, the officials sent out from England, the officer class of the garrisons, and all those half-pay naval and military officers who were continually coming to the country.

In the backwoods, among European and old settlers alike, life was wholly democratic. In and around the towns, where the higher class carried on their professions, law, banking, wholesale trade, and blended with Old-country folk of the same type, social lines were comparatively rigid. This increased the political discontent of such of the masses as were in a situation to feel it. Though the franchise was liberal, it was not much use, with a Tory Upper House. Education too was largely confined to a college at Toronto and various grammar schools under Church auspices. Itinerant preachers had to serve the needs of the Nonconformists, who formed a majority of the population, and education outside the towns was left to the same haphazard methods.

But what chiefly brought about the little revolution of 1837 which, with that in Quebec of the same date, occasioned the famous Durham Commission and the Union of the Provinces, was the persistent exclusion from the Council and from office of agitators and reformers. It was precipit expected majority for Government at the elections of that year, due, in the opinion of Sir Francis Head, to his own arrival as Governor with instructions to promote a more Liberal policy in the Province. But in truth the Canadian Tories cared very little for the liberal intentions of the Home Government and sometimes flouted them with scant ceremony.

A very few words will suffice for the rising of 1837, of which a fiery little Scotch printer and journalist, William MacKenzie, was the chief promoter and leader. He had come early to Canada by way of New England and started a paper in Toronto, hostile to Family Compact rule. For years he proved a firebrand on the popular side, and was more than once elected to the Assembly, to be expelled from it by the Tories; and not without some excuse, in the constant appeal that he and his friends made to American institutions, together with their ill-concealed desire for annexation. Sir Francis had at this moment unwisely denuded the Province of troops against the threatened troubles in Lower Canada. MacKenzie, an unpractical featherhead though a clever agitator, seized the opportunity to turn out with a few hundred followers in an attack on Toronto. This was easily suppressed by the militia; and MacKenzie fled over the border, where he stultified his reputation, not a wholly bad one, by hanging about the Canadian frontier for a year or two with a band of American ruffians and doing a good deal of injury to property. He was ultimately imprisoned for a time by the U.S. authorities.

Many Canadian writers, inclined to judge every period by their own, seek to justify MacKenzie in the fact that all he contended for was ultimately granted. It seems idle to retort that there is a time for all things, and above all in a growing, newly-planted colony, where the arduous struggle for existence combined with perfect freedom of individual action makes politics a remote interest to the majority, scattered as they must be over vast distances. But the U.E. loyalist caste, who by virtue of social position, property, education and yet more as first-comers and foremost defenders of Upper Canada in time of stress, virtually governed the Province for two generations, no doubt came to abuse their powers.

Nevertheless, though the Tories may have helped themselves rather freely to the loaves and fishes, there is not a doubt but that the country through all this period was much safer in their hands than in those of their opponents, who encouraged annexation and were supported at home by that inscrutable type of English politician who is always with us, and whose motto would appear to be "Every country but my own." Their rule was coming to an end; but it had served well and suited the period which gave occasion to it.

XVI

UNION OF THE TWO CANADAS, 1838–1866.

In the French Province things were more serious. The better feeling created by the war soon died away, and the old racial acerbities returned. Between 1815 and 1837 the French population had grown to nearly half a million and the British in Lower Canada to over 100,000. Montreal alone numbered 50,000 inhabitants, and Quebec, the political capital, had reached half that number. Outside these cities however and a few small towns the country people remained the same ignorant, superstitious, unambitious and, when let alone, harmless folk as of old. They sent out hunters, trappers, lumbermen and occasional settlers to the West, but in the main stayed at home, subdividing their farms among their abounding progeny. They were no longer much influenced by the seigneurs, whose personnel had greatly changed, even to that of English proprietors in some cases. Their priests, who were at least passively loyal, had them well in hand, and if they did not spare their parishioners' pockets on behalf of a Church already wealthy, that was a purely domestic matter, without outside significance.

It must be remembered too that the French and British, with trifling exceptions, occupied separate parts of the country. It was only in and around the cities, occupied as they were by both races, and on the political stage that the quarrel raged, though its echoes were not wholly unfelt in the parishes. It is not easy in brief to give the causes for this unhappy cleavage, which, though shorn of much of its bitterness, is still as wide as ever. The natural antipathy of two peoples so utterly different, not merely in speech and religion but in habit, temperament and outlook, kept up an always smouldering surface ready to burst into flame at the touch of passion or conflicting interests. The politicians spent their energies in fighting the Executive on questions of place, power and prerogative. The British minority, energetic farmers and merchants, true to their type and with their hearts in material improvement, roads, canals, immigrants, chafed at the futility of a Legislature which cared for none of these things, but only for vain ambitions and ceaseless oratory.

These sharp differences of outlook, fostered by party newspapers, came to poison the whole of social life. Ordinary relations had been fairly well maintained in the preceding century, at times even approaching cordiality, but now French and British would hardly speak upon the street or frequent the same resorts. There were faults of temperament on both sides. The British were accused of arrogance; the French of impracticability and ingratitude for their favoured treatment as a conquered nation. The French complained that they were ignored in the higher Government posts, to which it was replied that their unrestrained abuse of the Administration was sufficient reason. The Home Government, in their ignorance of Canadian affairs, only made matters worse. The Assembly had fought continuously for exclusive control of the Civil List and Supply, which meant the control of the country, a privilege not yet conceded even to the politically-educated British Provinces. To bestow such powers on these hot-headed, politically-inexperienced Frenchmen, even were there no British minority to be considered, would then have been disastrous.

Successive Governors, including Lord Dalhousie, had dissolved the Legislature with unparalleled frequency on its refusing to vote supplies. As the Government owned the Crown lands and other sources of revenue, this factious conduct merely created a series of deadlocks and fanned the flames. Yet a majority of the French malcontents professed no animus against the Crown, but only against its servants. They were monarchists by instinct and tradition. Old France, though still a sentiment, had, since the Revolution with its anti-religious character, dropped out of political consideration; almost the only immigrants from there had been priests and nuns, who looked on their Mother-country as a lost soul, and materially helped reaction in their adopted one. The articulate French-Canadians outside the factious politicians did not quite know what they wanted, but were sore and angry from the cat-and-dog life into which the two races had lashed one another. They were impatient too with the inert *habitant* majority, who could seldom be made to understand that they had any grievances at all; nor had they, though they voted as their priest told them. A fraction, however, under Papineau, a clever, unpractical, hot-headed political lawyer, now (1837) broke out in rebellion. He and his friends had passed ninety-two resolutions for increasing the popular powers, while for five years the Assembly had refused to grant supplies.

Lord John Russell's answer to this portentous verbosity was to introduce a bill into the British House of Commons empowering the Executive of Lower Canada to expend the revenue without reference to the Assembly. This was met by seditious outpourings and serious riots; and Lord Gosford, the then Governor, proclaimed martial law, issuing warrants for Papineau and a score of his friends. Among the foremost of these was an Irish Doctor, O'Callaghan, and Dr. Nelson, a misguided but worthy Scot, who in after-years proved a loyal servant of the Crown. Their aims were republican, though rather nebulous. Annexation to the States, which would alienate all potential sympathy, was not avowed. Papineau's own fantastic notion was a little French-Canadian Republic existing, one can only presume, under the sufferance of two vigorous Anglo-Saxon countries, one of which it would block out permanently from the sea.

Some few arrests brought the rebellion to a head. Its storm-centre was the neighbourhood of Montreal, and it was much more formidable than the MacKenzie affair, though the Church and most of the educated French were dead against both the previous riots and the ultimate rising.

Though Papineau was anti-clerical, a few thousand of his dupes, some by outrages, some by openly taking the field, brought the Government troops upon them, led by their Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Colborne.

There were several brief skirmishes, from the first of which Papineau, like MacKenzie, fled to the States, and a good deal of rebel blood was spilled, the rising being for the moment crushed. Soon afterwards six hundred of those American filibusters who were in chronic readiness to make trouble crossed the Vermont frontier under Nelson's brother, but they were easily repulsed. The weak Gosford was recalled and Colborne assumed charge till Lord Durham arrived in March 1838. The Constitution of Lower Canada was suspended and a special Council, including loyal Frenchmen, substituted for the Legislature. More filibusters crossed the border, always to be repulsed with loss, while many were captured, of whom some were hanged and others transported to the penal settlements.

For relations with the States were again strained. The dispute over the Maine and New Brunswick boundary line was causing bloodshed upon it, though it was ultimately settled by the Ashburton Treaty in a manner rather humiliating to

British diplomacy—as any map will show. Lord Durham's arrival as Governor-General and Special Commissioner of British America marks an epoch in Canadian history. He and his able secretary Buller travelled through the two disturbed provinces and wrote the famous Report on their condition which with great clearness presented familiar facts hitherto unsuspected in England. It suggested the reunion of Upper and Lower Canada, which several British-Canadians had already urged—though it turned out to be no final solution of the difficulty.

Durham found to his surprise "two nations warring within a single State." Himself an extreme Whig, he had imagined the French party to be Liberals and the British Tories. Outside the mere racial quarrel, he found the former in all essentials of life reactionary beyond conception, while the latter corresponded to normal English Liberals. All the rebels were amnestied with the exception of eight who were merely banished. Quite characteristically Brougham, because he hated Durham, impugned this lenient treatment as too severe. At this Durham, a petulant though able man, took offence and went home after a six months' tenure of office.

Agitators from across the border continued busy in the Lower Canadian cities and among the ignorant peasantry. Fresh risings broke out, led as might be expected by many who had been unwisely amnestied. The leaders, following the example of Papineau and MacKenzie, saved their skins by flight to the States at the first contact with troops, to return again, amnestied in quieter years, swallow their opinions, ignore the bloodshed they had caused, pose as loyal citizens, and acquire quite a large body of retrospective admirers. A dozen of their associates, however, were executed and more transported.

After this the land had peace from armed collisions. On the Durham report it was decided to unite the two Provinces under one Government with a common legislature. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, came out in 1839 to introduce the new measure which had been approved in principle by the British Parliament. Both Provinces of course contained a host of objectors to the Union: the French as it destroyed their predominance, and the Upper Canadian Tories for the same reason, while they were supported by the Ulster and Scottish Orangemen, an important element of the more recent immigration, who disliked association with papists.

The new Government consisted of a nominated Council of twenty and an Assembly of eighty elected members, forty from each Province. For there were now over a million souls in the two Canadas, about evenly divided between them, but with 450,000 French in the lower Province. With the inevitable expansion of Upper Canada this fixity of representation provided a sure source of trouble among the many which were to distract and ultimately to destroy the Union. It was understood that responsible government would be introduced, though Sydenham wrote that the Canadians "did not know what it meant!" It was hoped that the Union would break up racial faction, reconstitute parties upon other lines, and incidentally tend to a closer intercourse in private life. It had a partial effect on the first but none whatever on the second. Federation of all the Provinces had been even then considered by many people, Durham included, but the great distances, not yet lessened by railroads, seemed to prohibit such a scheme. Sydenham met his first Parliament in 1840 at Kingston, but was subsequently killed by a fall from his horse, to be succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot, and in 1843 by Sir Charles Metcalfe.

But a list of Governors with their characteristics, mostly men of fair parts though varying in their attitude towards the introduction of responsible government, is not possible here. It is enough that by 1848 all the Provinces had overcome the opposition of their respective Tory parties, and appointments to the Council (the Executive now separated from it) and the Civil Service generally were made by the advice of the majority in power. In short, the system that rules both in England and Canada to-day was in operation. Lord Elgin, conspicuous in the list of Governors-General, was the instrument through which it was definitely inaugurated. Meanwhile the Maritime Provinces had acquired this status more quietly, though not without keen opposition by the old governing class.

If there were space here to examine more fully the passions and divisions then existing, with the constant anti-British agitation going on across the border, the reader would probably feel much sympathy with the opposition. The view of some modern writers that responsible government was overdue, and still more that it had been brought about by light-headed rebels like Papineau and MacKenzie, is a delusion. There is little doubt that it was accorded to all the Provinces as soon as it was either safe or prudent to do so.

The desired splitting-up of parties on non-racial lines was partially accomplished in the Canadas. But the cleavage in the more sophisticated British group was much stronger than in the other, so that the French became the determining factor in many important measures. Their language was made the official one, and the Council elective by these means, while the quicker-growing Upper Province chafed at what soon automatically became their under-representation. The many causes of quarrel and the frequently changing ministries which distinguished this quarter of a century of ill-assorted union would be wearisome to the reader.

But though the union was a failure, and ended in something like a deadlock, it had served a useful purpose. It trained many capable statesmen, and taught the best of the French and British to work together for the good of their common country. It toned down the raw impulsiveness of the French politicians, some of whom developed into able and faithful servants of the Crown, like Sir George Cartier, Sir Etienne Taché and Sir Louis Lafontaine, while among the British Robert Baldwin, Sir John Macdonald, George Brown, the Radical leader and founder of the famous *Globe* newspaper of Toronto, are still household names in Canada.

It will be more purposeful to trace briefly the events which marked the rapid development of the country despite the quarrels of politicians. The Treaty of 1842, sometimes called the "Ashburton Capitulation," left a great wedge of Maine thrust northwards into New Brunswick. That of 1846, dealing with Pacific coast boundaries, gave Oregon to the States and very nearly let the whole island of Vancouver go. American fishermen had been excluded from most of the Canadian bays by the Treaty of 1818, which led to constant trouble from the capture of encroaching vessels. This was abrogated by a Reciprocity Treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854, to last for twelve years, which permitted mutual free trade in natural products and free fishing in nearly all waters. The bad feeling provoked by the not unnatural but ill-advised sympathy shown for the South in the Civil War by Canada and Great Britain caused the United States to terminate the agreement in 1866. There was also an impression that the pinch felt by such action might stimulate the annexation movement, which always had a fluctuating if a small following in Canada and never ceased to be regarded by most Americans as that country's "manifest destiny." Nor can we forget that this hope was consistently encouraged by certain English statesmen who, in and out of season, from the war of 1812 till within easy memory, disparaged the value of colonies and advocated their secession.

The Canadian rebellions, with the often highly-coloured accounts of the disturbed state of the country, had checked immigration for the moment. But through the forties and fifties it resumed its steady flow of from 30,000 to 50,000 a year, though a portion of this filtered across the border to the United States. It was mainly agricultural, and it settled up the country at a great pace. The Scottish Lowlands and Protestant Ulster maintained their old proportionate lead, going mostly to Upper Canada, though always leaving their tribute in the Maritime Provinces and the Eastern Townships of Quebec. Highlanders too continued to join their comrades in the Maritime Provinces and in Glengarry and other districts of the western Province. After the Irish famine years, 1848 and 1849, many Catholic Irish came to Canada, though largely to drift over the border, while most of them went direct to the States. The Canadian atmosphere was hardly congenial to them. For one thing Canada wanted land-workers, and the Irish, though land-hungry enough at home, flinched from the land in America and crowded the towns incidentally to propagate that municipal corruption which for half a century made the "Irish rule" of New York, Boston and Philadelphia a national scandal and reproach. Nor did they assimilate with their French co-religionists in Canada, while the strong Scotch and Ulster element in the country was not favourable to the airing of Irish grievances or anti-British demonstrations.

Canals were cut to avoid the rapids of the St. Lawrence and Niagara Falls. The Grand Trunk from Quebec to Toronto, with an offshoot to Portland, Maine, as a winter port, and one or two smaller railroads were constructed in the fifties, mainly by English capital; and they created a fever of excitement and speculation with its inevitable reaction. To the investors it was a blank disappointment and damaged the country in the financial world, but was nevertheless an aid to internal development. By the forties steamships were plying between the Maritime Provinces and New England and soon replaced the old sailing ships across the Atlantic, which had conveyed nearly a million emigrants to Canada under conditions sometimes bearable and even humorous, generally uncomfortable, often distressingly so, occasionally deadly from typhus, and in bad weather amazingly tedious.

The Americans, from the annexationist point of view, made a mistake in abrogating the Reciprocity Treaty. For while it had apparently helped the Canadian farmers, though the high prices were really due to constant wars in Europe and America, it promoted intimacy of trade and consequent intercourse between each Province and its American vis-à-vis. It diverted the thoughts of Canadians from inter-provincial trade and from linking up the long, narrow chain of territory which then comprised all habitable British North America. It carried Canadian sea-borne trade by way of American ports and diverted it from its natural outlet of the St. Lawrence.

When the Canadians lost this American frontier trade, even if it created some slight talk of annexation, it turned the energies of the sounder element towards Union, with fiscal reciprocity, and to their own ocean ports. One result was the intercolonial railroad linking the interior provinces with Halifax and St. John, the only winter ports, though it was not completed till 1867.

For the whole North-West and the Pacific coast, it must be remembered, were then altogether outside the purview of Canada, which terminated on the Canadian shore of Lake Huron. They lay within the aloof, mysterious sphere of the Hudson's Bay Company—though the North-West Company of Montreal had throughout the century been unwelcome rivals in these remote regions. The former had then its most westerly seat at Victoria on Vancouver island, whither, on the discovery of minerals in British Columbia, hundreds of adventurers had wandered from the great California goldrush of 1849. It was made a Crown Colony in 1850, and a few years later the adjoining mainland was included. But so far as Canada was concerned, it might have been in Asia.

After 1841 a system of common schools on the New England plan was introduced and periodically improved upon. The evergreen question of religious education in Government schools provoked the inevitable controversies, while the system of separate denominational schools for Protestants and Catholics respectively was adopted. This has worked smoothly enough in Provinces containing a large majority of one or the other, but it laid the foundation for endless wrangling when the North-West was opened.

It was bitterly opposed by a large British party as mischievous and tending to accentuate the existing cleavage. But the Ultramontane French Church insisted on what it conceived to be its rights. Whatever moral influence this monopoly may have exercised, it has undoubtedly placed their people at a disadvantage in competition with their British neighbours. This is a fact too obvious and widely recognised to need comment, and is openly deplored by intelligent French Canadians sufficiently independent or courageous to speak their minds in a Province dominated by sacerdotalism.

These Education Acts in the various British Provinces were improved or amended as time went on. Higher education in French Canada was well served by Laval University at Quebec with a branch at Montreal, fed by Catholic seminaries, while the girls of the well-to-do classes were taught in convent-schools. In Upper Canada, Trinity College, Toronto had been founded as an Anglican University, followed by the undenominational University of Toronto, and that of McGill at Montreal, all three, the first and lesser as well as the two larger institutions, flourishing greatly at the present day. King's College in Nova Scotia, the oldest of them all, may be regarded as completing the quartette.

Among other measures of the Union Parliament was the abolition of the seigneuries, which having frequently fallen to fresh owners with utilitarian views, were creating dissatisfaction among the tenants. So in 1855 the Province bought out the seigneurs for £650,000, and their tenants, or rather "*censitaires*," became freeholders. Their actual rents had been microscopic, but the fines due on sales or succession and other transactions common to feudal tenure had become irritating to the *habitant*, as even his world had not stood absolutely still.

The American Civil War proved an anxious time for Canada. Its articulate sympathies at least inclined to the South, suggesting a suspicion that the distractions of its powerful and not over-liked neighbour was the true source of partisanship for the section which had been its bitterest enemy half a century before. At the *Trent* affair [1] in 1862, when two battalions of Guards were sent to Halifax in midwinter and marched 500 miles through the snow to Canada, war seemed imminent. But the worst actual trouble came after the war, when thousands of disbanded Irish and other soldiers found their opportunity for annoying England, with the further prospect of abundant loot in Canada. The United States, sore on the privateering question focussed in the *Alabama* and not unreasonably irritated with Great Britain for the outspoken advocacy of the South by its governing classes, was not in a mood to police its frontiers too scrupulously.

A Fenian headquarters was openly set up in New York, and arms and ammunition as openly collected at points along the frontier. All this corresponded with the futile Fenian rising of 1866 in Ireland. There were some 12,000 regular troops now in Canada, but it was decided for politic reasons to call for volunteers, of which 14,000 at once responded in March. The Fenians did little on this occasion, and the volunteers were disbanded, but with the opening of summer the frontier was again threatened at various points, and 20,000 this time sprang to arms. Neither British nor even French Canadians have ever had much love for the "Irish-American," who as a half-digested hyphenate became first stereotyped in the fifties. There were small skirmishes not only this year but in the next along the frontier with the American Government mostly looking on; but the marauders at all points were easily repulsed.

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[1] The Confederate envoys to England, Mason and Slidell, were taken off the British ship *Trent* by a Federal captain (Sims). Great Britain, making a *casus belli* of the matter, demanded their surrender—which was ultimately accorded.

The Union Parliament, under the action of the French, and supported by a British faction, had done many foolish things. It rejected a Militia Bill at a moment when war seemed imminent, which gave the worst impression in England, except among those of the Manchester school, who rejoiced at these apparent signs of early secession from the Empire. It had granted under the same pressure compensation for losses in the rebellion in both Provinces, so shaping the Bill that the rebels benefited as much as their victims. This had caused constant riots, terminating in the burning of the Parliament House and its records, then in Montreal.

Before however the faction-ridden Union Parliament ended in 1867 a new capital had been created, which was to serve as such to the coming Federation. The three chief cities had had their turn and now the seat of Government was permanently fixed on the site of Bytown, a small place on the Ottawa River, well removed from frontier attacks and at the same time convenient of access. The late King Edward, as Prince of Wales, in 1860 laid the foundation-stone of the new Parliament buildings at Ottawa—which were partly destroyed during the late war, only to be again rebuilt.

XVII

FEDERATION (1867) AND THE OPENING OF THE NORTH-WEST

Federation was now to prove the cure for all Canadian ills. It had long been in the air, for it was too obvious a solution to escape the eye of either British or Colonial statesmen, but lack of communications was an equally obvious deterrent. Now, however, with the increase of railroads and steamships, the moment seemed ripe for it. The virtual deadlock, to which inter-racial bitterness and faction had reduced the ill-assorted Union of the Canadas, was a powerful incentive to action. It was soon apparent that such serious resistance as there might be would not lie with them.

Three parties had been long waging a triangular contest : the British Conservatives, the British Liberals and the French. The first was led by Sir John Macdonald, the foremost statesman of all Canadian history, and the French, fortunately, by Sir George Cartier, who may be said to hold similar rank in the records of his race. These two were in thorough accord and ardent federationists, while George Brown, leader of the British Liberals, was in due course converted. So the good-will of the Canadas at any rate was assured. The adherence of the three Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland was much more uncertain. They had actually met in 1864, by delegates, to discuss a Union among themselves, and while thus engaged had been surprised by advances from Canada towards a general Federation. Out of this grew a meeting of all the Provinces at Quebec, where was formulated the scheme which, in 1867, was completed in London and received the Royal assent as *The North America Act.*

But in the meantime there was much discussion and in the Maritime Provinces much opposition. We cannot here follow the long agitation for and against the scheme in these Provinces. But briefly, they were not seeking relief from a vexatious situation like the Canadas. They were all moving peaceably along under responsible government. The Nova Scotian Legislature had sat for a hundred years ; and all three were quite satisfied with themselves and felt instinctively that their importance would be reduced and their individuality endangered. On the other hand was the prospect of becoming part of a compact and growing nation within the Empire, a country large enough and strong enough to inspire a wider and finer sort of patriotism.

Nova Scotia was then led by a statesman only inferior perhaps to Macdonald on Canada's roll of honour, Joseph Howe, opposed by a rival only less able, who died quite recently as Sir Charles Tupper. Howe with a large majority stoutly resisted Federation till he was literally talked over by the Canadian leaders, when he carried his whole following with him. But on the whole Nova Scotia went in reluctantly. New Brunswick gave less trouble ; but little Prince Edward Island, with only 60,000 inhabitants, was stubborn, until brought in six years later by the buying-out of its absentee proprietors who divided the island between them and drew quit-rents from the farmers.

British Columbia was received a little earlier, while Newfoundland, as every one knows, definitely refused inclusion. The articles of Federation were drawn with care and skill. They were partially modelled on those of the United States, but avoided the blemishes due to the reluctance of the old colonies to give up their individuality to a central Government. In their case every right not definitely conceded by a Province remained with it as a State. Alexander Hamilton and his friends would have made the central Government far stronger, but the Jeffersonian party then grudged every concession. The result was a compromise which left even the right of secession an open question, only settled in torrents of blood at the Civil War, and a legacy of inconveniences felt to this day—as for instance the Japanese policy of California, which might even embroil the whole nation in war.

The Canadian Federation reversed this order of things. But the Provincial Governments were of comparatively recent origin and developed more or less out of Crown Colonies. So in the new Federation every power not specially delegated to the Provinces, which retained each their autonomy and separate Legislature under a Lieutenant-Governor, usually from henceforward a local man, lay with the central power. Upper Canada, now renamed Ontario, retained only the popular chamber, the other Provinces the usual two-chamber system.

The powers of the Dominion Parliament include the regulation of trade, the postal system, the public debt and public lands and financial loans, all military and naval matters, the fisheries, banks, the currency and coinage, copyright, patents, weights and measures, naturalisation and alien laws, customs and excise, marriage and divorce, canals, railways, penitentiaries, with criminal law and bankruptcy.

The position of the Governor-General was now to be virtually that of the Sovereign in the Mother-country. His indirect influence might be considerable, but politically he would be little more than a lay figure, though in external affairs of State, treaty negotiations and so forth, his greater experience of world-affairs might often make his assistance invaluable.

The Upper House, or the Senate, was appointed for life by the Governor-General in Council and consisted of 78 members. The House of Commons was elected according to the franchise of each Province with representatives according to population, based on that of Quebec with 65 members, readjustment to be made at each decennial census. The term of Parliament and that of the Governor-General was limited to five years. Honours were freely distributed among the makers of Federation, and Sir John Macdonald was the first Premier with a Cabinet on the British model.

An extraordinary and disturbing incident, however, threatened the situation for a brief moment. For Nova Scotia, under Howe's influence, repented so rapidly of having followed her other leaders, notably Charles Tupper, into the Union, that on a fresh election, conducted under the cry of repeal, this gentleman was positively the only member of his party returned to the provincial Lower House, an incident unique in British political history. The pressure of the Home Government, however, and of the leaders of the other Provinces, at length persuaded Howe to reconsider so deplorable a position, and he was able to reconvert sufficient of his own followers to avert disaster.

With Federation came another change of importance. This was a cessation of the intimacy between the Colonial Office and the various provincial Governments, which had been very close and not always advantageous to the latter. Inefficient persons had been frequently despatched to certain posts which tradition had reserved for Englishmen. Furthermore, colonial politicians opposed to measures of consequence that were impending had been in the habit of crossing the Atlantic and obtaining the ear of Ministers, who had often no chance of hearing the other side of the question.

The termination of Reciprocity with the United States at this moment caused a certain amount of depression in what we may now call the Dominion, though agricultural produce, lumber and kindred exports maintained their price, owing to wars on both sides of the Atlantic. But Federation and the end of Reciprocity synchronised with the opening of a new era of even more profound importance than any political reconstruction, though this had happily been effected in time to cope with the coming magnitude of the task. In brief, the Great North-West was dawning upon the minds of men, though as yet only of a very few men. The vast territory still held by the Hudson's Bay Company, stretching from the great western lakes and the shaggy, barren and impenetrable wilderness-belt which seemed like a slammed door against habitable Canada as far as the Rocky Mountains, had just been purchased by the new Government. Nearly a thousand miles' stretch of smooth prairie had lain hidden from Canadian eyes since the fur-traders, for their own reasons, had kept a discreet silence or represented it as an impossible country.

Though known for two centuries and traded over for more than one, it was still only occupied by vast herds of buffalo and roaming Indians, with here and there small trading-stations, where French and Scotch employees with Indian wives and half-bred children scratched as a secondary occupation the fertile soil. Where Winnipeg now stands, at the near edge of this great country, and the chief gateway into it, were situated in those days the trading-station and village of Fort Garry. One or two small groups of settlers had early in the century been planted there by Lord Selkirk, only to meet with discouragement and even worse at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. But these episodes were obscure and remote. When the Dominion Government took over the country and made Fort Garry the capital of the surrounding territory, and included it as the Province of Manitoba in the Federation, the average Canadian neither knew nor cared much more about it than about Russia. But the setting-up of this remote infant Government, with its accompanying surveyors and that too in rather tactless fashion, aroused the wild and suspicious population that had squatted there so long, and a rising occurred with some bloodshed, led by a clever French half-breed named Riel.

This brought up in 1870 the military Red River expedition of 1,200 men, led by Colonel, afterwards Lord, Wolseley, which suppressed the outbreak without bloodshed. Its laborious march of three months through the wilderness, by trail, lake and stream, was of importance, as it opened to subsequent pioneering emigrants a way which could be compassed in about three weeks. The alternative route was through the State of Minnesota with its partial railroad facilities. Fort Garry, renamed Winnipeg, now began to attract a few adventurous immigrants from Canada. By 1872 it contained about 3,000 souls. It was known that the rich prairie soil produced fine crops of wheat, and wheat had more than half created Ontario. But here there was none of that laborious clearing which had made some of the fathers and grandfathers of the Canadians old men before their time, though it had left their successors prosperous yeomen with good farms and substantial buildings.

In Manitoba, however, the old fur-trading, farming squatters told lurid stories of grasshoppers, early frosts, and shattering hailstorms, for they were still jealous and suspicious and, confronted by a swarm of surveyors, feared, though unnecessarily, for their titles. The winter temperature too, they declared, would be unbearable to those not inured to it. The early pioneers from Canada, with a sprinkling from the Old

Country, found these warnings to be mainly true, while their inadequate means of resisting a cold, occasionally 20 degrees below the coldest of Ontario, tried them sorely. Above all, there was practically no market. They had only the shallow Red River down into Minnesota and its half-completed railway system, while with Canada there was no communication whatever.

General opinion held this new country cheap, or at any rate unavailable till tapped by a railroad, an apparently remote prospect. Many considered the reputed fertility of the soil was neutralised by the pests which made cropping risky and by a climate which was commonly regarded as arctic even by Canadians: the writer speaks here from personal recollection of the current opinion of that day in Canada, which in truth seemed sound enough. But a few thought otherwise, with what now seems almost an inspired faith. A trans-continental railroad had been, to be sure, a dream with many, but little more than a dream. But a small group, with the means of initiative, took it up so seriously that the entry of British Columbia into the Federation was secured by a promise of construction. The prospect to the normal mind seemed remote enough. The Grand Trunk and Intercolonial Railroads, with their two thousand running miles, were in a state of bankruptcy and had discouraged British investors. Canada was far too poor a country to shoulder such a burden herself. What, then, would be the fate of another two thousand miles, through a partly barren and wholly unsettled wilderness? The British Government, though favourable if only for military reasons, would not support such a dubious speculation. Yet the railroad now became a live political issue, backed by the Conservatives under Sir John Macdonald, then in power, and opposed by the Liberals, who were for going slowly, if at all, by sections, linking it up with the six hundred miles of water-way afforded in summer by Lakes Superior and Huron.

Surveys were begun and found the rugged hinterland of Ontario even more formidable than expected. For a decade, early in which the Conservatives wrecked their cause by some incautious finance known as the "Canadian Pacific scandal" and made way for the Liberals, the railroad was a leading and contentious political question. But little practical work was done, though a few thousand settlers found their way to Manitoba by way of Minnesota or by the long, overland "Dawson" route, to be confronted with no little hardship and suffering and a meagre market. Yet Winnipeg grew rapidly in a small way, and settlements spread westward over the prairie, where embryo towns arose along the expected railroad route and southwards towards the border now connected with Winnipeg by rail.

In 1879 Sir John Macdonald returned to power. The next year a strong company, including the late Lords Mountstephen and Strathcona, undertook the projected railroad; and the terms were signed by the Government, which specified 1890 as the year of completion. British Columbia, which had been threatening secession under the long delay, was satisfied. The 400-mile link between the head of Lake Superior and Winnipeg, already connected with the Minnesota railroad system, was soon finished. The canal at Sault Ste. Marie, connecting Lakes Huron and Superior, had been cut, and the first serious rush to the North-West began. The great railroad, which was to change, though not immediately, the whole outlook of the Dominion, was actually completed in 1885, and the Continent spanned from Halifax to Vancouver.

We have no space here for the dramatic incidents connected with its making; neither the engineering feats which subdued the tremendous passes through the Rocky Mountains, nor again the financial difficulties which almost overwhelmed the Company, whose leaders were reduced to pledging their own last dollars and ultimately to calling on the Government to save the whole undertaking from ruin. The seven million pounds required was granted after much opposition, and the mightiest engineering and railroad achievement of the century was not merely saved from collapse but formed a success beyond the dreams even of the faithful.

Federation had introduced comparative serenity into the political atmosphere. Its wider field of choice brought a higher standard of efficiency to Ottawa. Lord Monck presided with success over the opening years, and Lord Dufferin proved a model Governor-General. Sir John Macdonald, whether in or out of office, was a host in himself. He had at once force and imagination and an unswerving faith in Canada's destiny within the Empire. His personal magnetism counteracted his rather rough and lively wit and not a little freedom of life and habit. His undoubted strain of genius lifted him above the many men of talent who supported or opposed him. He was the idol of his party and his *bons mots*, if sometimes coarse, were the delight of his generation. In breadth and penetration of vision he has been often likened to Lord Beaconsfield, to whom, curiously enough, he bore in person a slight resemblance.

Outside the railroad question, Free-Trade *versus* Protection was the chief subject of contention. The farmers, like so many of their contemporaries in the United States of those days, were naturally free-traders. Wealthy, produce-needing, free-trade England ruled the grain market of both countries, and farmers wished to buy their manufactured articles in the cheapest markets, whether England or the States. To pay for the possible creation of fresh industrial centres in their midst which might afford convenient markets for lesser products bordered on an altruism that could hardly be looked for in a thrifty, hardworking, rather narrow-minded class. But the persuasive eloquence of Macdonald combined with the strong hereditary instinct of a section of rural Conservative voters achieved the miracle, and in 1879 Sir John came into power with the "National Policy," which gave protection of approximately 30 per cent. to nearly every product, raw and manufactured, in the Dominion.

This proved the end of free-trade in Canada. The farmers with little or nothing to gain paid the bill through all the nursing period of Canadian industries, and many will tell you they have gone on paying it to this day. Nor for a time was there much apparent result, though there is no doubt that protection has benefited the country as a whole and quickened its development. Though free-trade remained a plank in the Liberals' platform for some time, it was finally dropped when under Sir Wilfrid Laurier they came into power in 1896.

By 1870, when the North-West first dawned, Canada as a whole had come to a decided halt in its hitherto rapid career with a population of over three millions. Nearly all the land worth clearing had been opened in the Maritime Provinces and even in Ontario, while Quebec, save in the British districts by this time prosperously filled, grew merely from its own native increase. Occupied Ontario was virtually a broad strip confronting the lakes or the American border. The forests behind stretching northwards into semi-arctic regions were, to an emigrant with a now wide choice of countries, not worth clearing for their indifferent soil. Immigration of the old type, the free-grant or cheap-land settler, ceased. Government and Company prospectuses failed to attract and rightly. The rich prairies of the Western States, with rapidly building railroads, offered infinitely better opportunities to the poor man. A few thousand came to Canada in search of higher wages in agriculture and other trades, but even these were scarcely commensurate with the hard work and long hours. Canada was still overwhelmingly agricultural, and the people of this generation were living thrifty, laborious lives of simple comfort on the farms their fathers, grandfathers, or predecessors had cut out for them. The bulk were free-holders of from 100 to 200 acres, worth from £1,000 to £3,000, which they and their sons to a large extent tilled themselves. The detached labouring class was small and generally transient. There were no gentleman farmers and no peasant cultivators. Practically all were of the same type, with an elementary school education. There was neither wealth nor poverty among them, as those terms are generally understood. The exceptions were always negligible, and to realise Canada, or even Canadian history, this uniformity in its rural life must be clearly grasped.

In spite of Federation, the Protective system of 1879, the completion of the C.P.R., and the fresh boom in the North-West, progress was disappointing. The country though sound made few men rich. Incomes and salaries were on a modest scale, and living, luxuries apart, extremely cheap. The average of plain comfort, however, was probably the highest in the world, but to the Australian, in those days of great fortunes in grazing and mining, Canada seemed a poor country, and still more so to the American. British investors, badly hit by its first railroads, though they had "locked up," as they thought, a good deal in the C.P.R., looked askance at the country. Young Canadians left it by thousands for the Western States, which were developing rapidly, and were hardly replaced by a limited immigration.

With the eighties too came the great slump in agricultural prices on both sides of the Atlantic, mainly caused by the abounding cheap production of new virgin lands. Farmers' sons went West, and for a long time more often to the American West than to Manitoba, which proved for nearly two decades, despite the completion of the railroad, a dubious enterprise under the continual low prices and certain physical drawbacks. The modest fortunes hitherto acquired rather easily by local trade in the old Provinces shrank under increasing competition and a depressed agriculture. Manufactures however got a start under protection, not only in the cities but in many a small Ontario market-town, and persisted bravely and with no little success till the day of Canada's great awakening came at the century's close. Hitherto each country town had supplied its own area and nothing more with a small percentage of its manufactured requirements. In future Industrialism assumed a more national character, and in time augmented the growing volume of Canada's food exports with a considerable addition of manufactured goods, particularly agricultural machinery.

It was a country of hard workers and thrifty livers, well calculated to face a modest standard of life with complacency. But Canadians wanted more than this. They saw the rapid growth of their great neighbour, and much of the flower of their own people leaving home to share in it. They were for long hardly satisfied with their own North-West, which helped to drain their rural districts and depreciated land values, but had not yet justified itself before the world by striking results. Through all the eighties and part of the nineties Manitoba and its new westerly neighbours had an indifferent name both abroad and even with many in the Old Provinces, though largely undeserved. Thousands of Canadians and a strong minority of Old-country British, with a sure faith in the country, were progressing steadily in the North-West, and laying the foundations of real future prosperity. But thousands had failed, not always through their own fault, and the North-West of those days was a cruel country to those who failed. But it was these who returned and gave it a bad name. The modest scale of individual operations seldom permitted of men returning, as from Australia or South America, with fortunes to counteract the failures. The census returns between 1870 and 1890 were depressing; the Old Provinces returning a barely normal increase, while a few of the best Ontario counties actually showed a decline through emigration.

But this thirty years of qualified dissatisfaction with their own progress among Canadians, and the rather slighting estimate of the country held by the outside business world, arose largely from invidious comparison with the phenomenally fast development of the United States. Neither at home nor abroad could people understand why with almost similar advantages Canada lagged so far behind. The country was sound enough, growing reasonably prosperous, and living within its income, but Canadians chafed at the contrast, and outsiders continually pointed to it. There seemed no reason for this comparatively slow rate of progress. Everything was here necessary to the creation of wealth, if the world would only see it. Nobody could account for the situation. Both the discontent and the perplexity were, in fact, perfectly justified. For when the world discovered Canada about 1900, and it rose into altogether another sphere of wealth and importance, no valid reason could be, or ever has been, given why this same world only then recognised possibilities which had been familiar to Canadians, and untiringly proclaimed by them, for fifteen or twenty years.

But to return to political matters. Federation had much simplified dealings with the Home Government. The chief concerns of the various Provinces were now merged in one representative body. The often well-meant interference of former Lieutenant-Governors, with their Legislature, their frequent shifting with changing British Governments, and their conflicting views on colonial policy, had all made for confusion; particularly so in disputes with the United States, whose frequent threats of war were taken too seriously by gentlemen from Europe. The Lieutenant-Governors, henceforward natives, became more or less decorative nonentities. The Federal Supreme Court, with an appeal to the Privy Council, very frequently used, tended also to simplification. The Senate, nominated for life by successive Federal ministries, has not, however, proved an unqualified success. It was intended, among other things, to be watchful over provincial interests when threatened by the Federal power. Their security of tenure gave hope that senators would form to a certain extent an impartial tribunal. But their practice has been to vote steadily with their party. The Civil Service, with exceptions, was continued under the American system of party nomination, with the dislocation involved in every change of government, and the accompanying inefficiency.

In face of the general success of Canadian Government, the statement that it is tainted with corruption must seem a paradox. There have been outstanding individuals, such as Macdonald, Laurier, Borden and many others, whose personal reputations remain unsmirched. But if any further proof were wanted to emphasise a fact so universally recognised, it would be aptly furnished by the stress laid on the individual purity of the few. Each party too invariably accuses its opponents of wholesale corruption. But even discounting these ebullitions of party passion, the unpalatable truth remains. Scarcely more than in the United States have politics been the career of the better class, while its illegitimate gains are just sufficient to attract second-rate men. Nor again does membership of the House of Commons carry with it the same prestige as, even yet, remains to it in Great Britain. Canadian writers skate lightly over this aspect of the body politic, for fairly obvious reasons, but no such reticence will be discovered in private life, where the evil is universally and bluntly recognised.

It would have been strange if in the long period of deferred development we are now dealing with there had been no mutterings of annexation to the great neighbour, whose pace was so much faster. The strange thing is there was so little. General opinion was more staunch to the Imperial connection than before Federation, which made no doubt for greater pride in Canadian citizenship. For if one heard less vague annexationist and " manifest destiny " talk, one did hear occasionally of an Independent Canada in the remote future ; but that was another thing. All this too, in spite of the great and subtle influence of American neighbourhood, in trade and social intercourse, in books and newspapers which flooded the country, and of a common speech spoken moreover with much the same accent and intonation. There is also something of the same outlook towards old countries and the people from old countries, and the same measure of rather crude intolerance and misunderstanding of a young community towards the manners and customs, the perhaps too calm assurance bred of centuries of greater polish and a mellower atmosphere.

Sir John Macdonald's party held power till 1896, when the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier came in, apparently converted from a hitherto consistent advocacy of reciprocity with the United States to their opponents' leading policy of protection. Many improvements to suit the growing needs of the country, educational, commercial and agricultural, were effected. But something more of its general condition will probably be of greater interest to the reader than a record of its legislative measures and the wrangles of politicians ; and the salient points of this the writer must try to depict in as few words as possible.

XVIII

THE CLOSING PERIOD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A CHANGE was made in 1872 which considerably affected the social life of the Dominion. This was the withdrawal of all the Imperial troops, save the garrison at Halifax. The presence of approximately 10,000 soldiers, with their officers, in various cities and towns exerted an influence in certain directions which can readily be imagined. It helped to keep alive something of that English atmosphere which the old

U.E. loyalist element, though largely of American origin, had striven so hard, with the help of like-minded English settlers in Canada, to maintain. It contributed greatly to the gaiety of life, and moreover brought about a large number of intermarriages with Canadian families. One, two and three generations ago there were ladies of Canadian birth in almost every garrison the world round, where the British drum beat. The defence of the country was now confided to the Dominion Government, which reorganised the militia, or volunteer service of all arms and founded the well-known and efficient Military College at Kingston. The Home Government, with a small contribution from Ottawa, continued to maintain all the defensive works. During this epoch the country grew more democratic. Not merely in the cities did new men work their way up and displace to a great extent the old leading families, but hitherto nearly every little country market-town had contained its group of people in professional life or wholesale trade, supplemented by the many half-pay officers who had married Canadians, or who lived in Canada for the sake of economy. Its simpler gaieties, too, fostered by the natural opportunities of the country, the absence of wealth, general uniformity in breeding and condition of all these little societies, were a prominent feature in old Canadian life, which gradually disappeared by natural process in the eighties and nineties, giving way to more American-like conditions.

Of its banks and banking system Canada has always been justly proud. It has followed the principle of a few great chartered corporations, with branches throughout the country, rather than the American system of innumerable banks, private and State, with a far lower general average of prestige and stability. This method of concentration has been consistently pursued. For whereas at Federation there were about forty banks with their branches in the Dominion, there are now, with the enormously increased volume of capital handled, only about half that number. Such a system not only insures first-rate capacity in the chief management of these far-reaching concerns, but in times of stress vastly simplifies mutual co-operation. The Bank of Montreal has always held the premier place and is far the largest and strongest in North America. Rigid Government inspection has contributed much to the stability of Canadian banks, and failures in the last half-century have been few. Their prestige was well illustrated by the fact that till the recent commercial expansion opened avenues of wealth to its young men, the service of the leading banks, though not highly paid, was held in greater honour than in any country in the world.

In former days lumbering was one of the few roads to what was then thought wealth in a country of small fortunes. The illimitable northern forests into which the frontal belts of the older Provinces gradually subside, still constitute, it need hardly be said, an important source of Canadian wealth. The capitalist lumberman leased " timber limits " from Government, otherwise the right to cut such trees as were of commercial utility over certain specified tracts. These timber lands were " picked over " with some rapidity and the industry pushed farther and farther back, with naturally decreasing profits. The trees are cut in winter and after the spring thaw floated down over the innumerable water-channels to the great saw-mills on some railroad system. Thousands of hands known as " shantymen," experts with the axe and at handling logs down waterways, are regularly employed. In the nineties came the utilising of otherwise valueless timber for paper-making, and millions of acres regarded as of no account became immediately or potentially valuable, an epoch-making commercial event.

Montreal from earliest fur-trading times has been the commercial centre of Canada, and in population it went rapidly ahead of the political capital, Quebec. At Federation it numbered over 150,000 souls, thrice the size of the older city, and thrice the size of Toronto, which to-day with nearly 250,000 is about two-thirds the size of Montreal. Quebec, however, was fatally hit by the extension of quick traffic to Montreal, more especially by the deepening of navigation, which facilitated the passage thither of large Atlantic steamships. By the seventies the British mercantile houses were already moving away, and leaving it to what it has almost wholly become, a comparatively unprogressive French city. Montreal is now more than ever the chief seat of Canada's commercial wealth and its wealthiest men. Two-thirds of its population are French, but far the largest proportion of the trade and wealth is in British-Canadian hands. Neither the temperament nor the Church-supervised education fits the French for successful competition with their virile and better-equipped neighbours, and to a great extent they remain their employees. It is here, if anywhere, that some fusion of the two races might be expected, but in no class do they touch at any point save in the ordinary amenities of business life, which are quite harmonious. It may be mentioned here, too, that many hundred thousand French-Canadians work in the New England factories.

Ottawa. also a mixed population, grew from an obscure country town to an equality with Quebec, and will probably surpass it with its ready water access to the timber and potential mineral wealth of its vast hinterland. A small group of country towns in Quebec Province, headed by Three Rivers, of old French iron-forge origin, and Sherbrook in the British townships, grew up to more or less 10,000 population. Toronto, the political, commercial and educational capital of Ontario, easily held its long lead unapproached by Hamilton, 50,000; London, 30,000; Kingston, 20,000; and these were followed by a large number of country towns, increased towards the end of the century by various manufacturing industries to over or nearly 10,000 apiece.

The earlier efforts of Canadian manufacturers after 1879 were largely absorbed in supplying the growing community with much of what it had formerly imported; an export trade to England and Europe, however, grew slowly, agricultural machinery being the most important item. Raw produce was naturally Canada's chief export. In this epoch butter and cheese became an important item, the latter increasing twenty-five-fold in the thirty years. But wheat, ever since the beginnings of British Canada, has been its greatest cash asset. The output increased from sixteen million bushels in 1870 to fifty-five millions in 1900, and in the next fifteen years to about three hundred millions. The yield per acre, expected to decrease on the virgin soils, has on the contrary slightly improved owing to all-round better farming, though it is still not two-thirds that of England. Other cereals followed suit in this rapidly increasing output, and fruit-farming, particularly in and about the Niagara district, and still more so in British Columbia, developed into a widely extended and standard industry, with not merely a home market but an extending one on the north-western prairies, where little fruit can be grown. Railroads increased their mileage in the ratio of five to one, and shipping multiplied threefold.

The dealings of Canada with her Indians have always been clean and straight and in marked contrast to that of the United States. That the remnants of the Five Nations which came into Ontario with the loyalists have not proved in civilised life as efficient as their white neighbours is the fault of race, not of treatment, while the numerous wild tribes of the North-West have been dealt with honourably on the large reservations, where they still lead a quiet but semi-nomadic life. But in 1885 some discontent among the half-breeds brought the clever and fanatical agitator, Riel, of 1870 memory, out of his refuge in the United States.

The disturbance arose this time in the then remote region of the Saskatchewan. The pioneer settlers had now reached that country and spread alarm among the half-breeds for their land-titles. Some unwise official delay in quieting their fears gave Riel his chance, and he incited another rebellion among them. Yet more, he inflamed the Indians, who from neighbourhood and habit of life were much akin to the half-breeds. There were some thirty thousand of these redskins, Crees, Assiniboines and others, among whom the sparks of rebellion might be ignited, for the rapid extinction of the buffalo had upset their old system of maintenance. The whites were still strung but thinly along these western routes and the position was serious.

Three thousand eager militiamen were mustered at once in the Old Provinces. The United States refused convoy over their railroads, and as the C.P.R. was not yet completed over a section east of Winnipeg, the men, under an English General, Middleton, had an exhausting march through the still wintry wilderness. They were forwarded rapidly by rail from Winnipeg, but not before Riel had defeated with some bloodshed a small body of the famous North-Western Mounted Police. When the troops came up there were two or three weeks of smart fighting, with no little loss, before the rebels were subdued and Riel captured. He had been recently and weakly amnestied by the Government, and like some other rebels of a later day this was the result. Now, however, he was tried and executed, despite a considerable uproar in Quebec merely because he was more or less French and a Catholic!

Coal had long been worked in Nova Scotia, and iron mined near Three Rivers, in Quebec, ever since the French régime, while placer-mining for gold had chiefly contributed to the early settlement of British Columbia. But in the eighties that search for minerals seriously began which has made Canada among the foremost producing countries in the world, with infinite potentialities. The coal-mines of Nova Scotia have been greatly developed, while abundant coal exists and is now mined in each of the Prairie Provinces and in the Rocky Mountains. Unfortunately there is none in the manufacturing Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, which draw mainly on the not far distant mines of Pennsylvania.

During this epoch and later British Columbia, including the Klondike region, was far the greatest producer of Canadian gold. She reached high-water mark in 1913, with over a million pounds' worth, but has since rapidly declined, Ontario now taking the lead in this metal. Nova Scotia worked much earlier a small gold-mining area, but with no important results. In the production of silver Ontario took for a time, and has now recaptured, an easy lead over British Columbia, the only other producing Province. The mines on Lake Superior were virtually worked out after great results in the eighties. At the beginning of this century, however, that rich district in the wilderness hinterland of Ontario now known as Cobalt was discovered, which, though now declining, has more than compensated for the non-productive interlude.

As a silver-producing country Canada now stands third in the world. Nickel, however, must in a sense be regarded as Canada's most important metal, as she produces five-sixths of the world's supply, and that mostly in Ontario. In copper she stands fifth, with some 50,000 tons annually from the various Provinces, while a moderate amount of lead comes from British Columbia. The iron production of the Dominion, though capable of great development, may be dismissed here with the fact that nineteen-twentieths of that now used is imported from the United States. In this brief notice of Canadian mining activities it has been necessary to overstep the period under immediate notice, and bring the facts up to date. It must also be remembered that the mineral districts lie mainly in wild, remote regions, that the investigations of a people hitherto mainly concerned in more pressing activities have as yet been but partially tested, and that future possibilities can be only guessed at.

But to return for a moment to politics: many matters of sharp contention arose between French and English, such for instance as the execution of Riel, while in 1888 the Jesuit compensation affair again aroused the two races to white heat. At the conquest the British Crown had wisely and justly excepted the Jesuits from its generous peace conditions, expelled the Order with life pensions and converted their estates to other uses—a policy pursued towards them by even some Catholic countries. After Federation the Jesuits resumed their exploitation of Canada, founded schools and stimulated by their influence a Church already sufficiently lustful of power. In 1888 the Quebec Legislature brought in an Act compensating these people for the legitimate and sagacious confiscation of their lands in 1763, and suggesting in the preamble that the Pope was the true arbiter in such matters.

So the Jesuits were allotted half a million sterling to be paid for by the Province, including of course the Protestant tax-payers. The political exigencies of the moment at Ottawa did not admit of exercising the Crown veto over provincial rights, so this mischievous Order was re-settled in Canada under affluent circumstances, at the tax-payer's expense.

Mixed schools were a frequent source of racial friction. Quebec had been given her Church schools with the provision that Protestant minorities could apply their education rates to establishing schools of their own. This worked quite smoothly, though indirect results, irrelevant here, bore hardly on some Protestant communities. But Quebec Catholics now demanded their own schools in the Protestant Provinces into which their people had overflowed. The general sense of British Canada, however, said, " No ! Your schools, where the technicalities of your creed form half the subjects taught, are obviously impossible for outsiders, as well as comparatively ineffective. Our schools, like those of the United States, are educationally effective, and general religious instruction occupies but a brief hour or less, from which your children could be excused, and for the rest they may look to their local priest. Moreover, we intend all Canadian children to have the best educational equipment possible for the life which lies before them, and you do not give it. You have all Quebec, a portion of which only you occupied at the conquest. The other Provinces have been carved out of the wilderness by Britons for Britons, and we expect all outsiders therein who desire a free education to conform to our system of school, which does not sacrifice efficiency to prolonged instruction in a particular creed."

But " political exigencies " decided against the general sense of Protestant Canada and the successful example of the United States. All the new Provinces but New Brunswick gave in. Manitoba, as a new country, though the small population of old French half-breeds gave some kind of basis for an argument, absolutely refused after 1890 to consider separate schools, and the Manitoba school question became for years a burning one throughout Canada, till ultimately a compromise was effected. Educational details are out of the question here, but the above represents the main essentials of Anglo-French relationship in these matters.

XIX

THE OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY; AND THE WESTERN PROVINCES

When in 1896 the Liberal party at length returned to power, there were already some signs of the approaching boom, and political events alone were perhaps portents of it. Laurier was an honourable, liberal-minded French-Canadian, with a sincere belief in Canada's destiny within the Empire. He was as free as a Quebecker could well be from the subtle trammels of sacerdotalism, and a *persona grata* to both races, even to his political opponents. He was not a statesman like Macdonald or Howe, but an astute politician, as fair-minded and free from the vices of his calling as could be hoped for. Free trade was dead, but his advent was signalised by the preferential tariff of 33⅓ per cent. rebate of duty on all British goods imported, which received little opposition from the Conservatives.

In 1897 the Queen's Diamond Jubilee found Laurier with other Canadian leaders in London at the first Imperial Conference ever held. For a great change was now coming over the attitude of the Mother-country towards what hitherto had been called the "Colonies." The Colonial Office, under the inspiration of Mr. Chamberlain, who had actually visited Canada, had begun to wake up. Hitherto the ignorance of permanent officials of the countries within their sphere had been a standing jest, and justly so. It rarely occurred to any official to make personal acquaintance, simple and easy as such a process had become, with those colonies whose concerns were his particular business. The "atmosphere" of the Oversea Dominions, the personal outlook of oversea Britons, was utterly unknown at headquarters. It appeared to some visiting Colonials as if their Department had no desire to understand these things, and took no interest in them. It was as if an English Professor of Modern Languages had never taken the trouble, nor had the curiosity, to cross the Channel.

Under Mr. Chamberlain these absurdities began to be recognised, not only as concerning the department, but among intelligent English people generally. "Little Englander" became a term of reproach, and a new interest in our Oversea Dominions, as they now came to be called, under friendly pressure from themselves, was awakened. Governors-General such as Lords Dufferin, Stanley and Lansdowne had worked hard for a better understanding of Canada in this country.

Above all, in these last years of the century, an active immigration policy was inaugurated by both Federal and Provincial Governments. A department was established in London, and European countries, particularly Russia and the Austrian Empire, were exploited with great success. This was no new thing. In the early eighties thousands of Russians, mostly sectaries such as Mennonites and Dukhabors, primitive folk at odds with their own rulers, had been settled *en bloc* in the North-West. These people were now drawn upon in great numbers, and proved docile, harmless, industrious farmers. But they also proved difficult to assimilate, clinging to their customs, language and occasionally some inconvenient superstitions. In short, this wholesale importation of aliens had its obvious drawbacks. Now, however, British emigration began those great forward strides which in the first years of the present century assumed unprecedented proportions, and much modified the desire for Continentals who, with all their drawbacks, were regarded at a leaner period as much better than nothing. Another movement, too, began in the late nineties, which though not altogether so welcome as the British influx, was far more so than that of the foreigners, and of more practical effect than either.

The cause of the movement was as follows: By the close of the century the virgin lands of the American West had been practically all settled up, and the Western farmers suddenly realised that another virgin country, similar to that which they and their fathers had developed into now valuable properties, was open to them. It was not only the superfluous sons seeking free grants that now crossed the Canadian border, but whole families sold their improved farms at high prices, and either took up grants or bought land in Manitoba, Saskatchewan or Alberta. The move was wholly profitable. It gave them ample scope for settling sons and daughters on virgin lands certain to rise immensely in value. They were the most efficient settlers, being from the first as much at home on the Canadian prairies as they had been on those of Iowa, Kansas or Minnesota. They had nothing to learn, found exactly what they expected, yet more, brought abundant capital, and they were almost uniformly contented and successful. Thirty thousand, representing skilled pioneers and millions of dollars, came in a single year, and these figures were more or less maintained. Hitherto, thousands of Canadians had left for the States, and now the tide had turned.

These people when claiming free grants had of course to take the oath of allegiance, and they usually did so, even as purchasers. Being practically indistinguishable from Canadians, and living under laws that so far as they differed from those of the Western States differed to the advantage of law-abiding people, they became quickly identified with the political and social views of their neighbours. There had been some concern as to the ultimate result of introducing so many Americans into the North-West, but it has so far proved groundless.

One improvement upon their own western country was frankly recognised by these immigrants, and this was the prompt punishment of crime. The lawless and haphazard customs of the American frontier had never been tolerated upon the British side. A large force of Mounted Police had from the first been maintained in the country, and the pistol-shooting ruffians, bullies and stock-thieves who were the curse of the American West never had a chance to show their heads across the border. Crime was punished as promptly as in Ontario, and criminals were pursued relentlessly by these practised sleuth-hounds, often far over the American frontier; for the privilege of pursuit and arrest was recognised by the United States, whose authorities had no effective machinery for catching thieves or murderers. Indian misdemeanours were the chief concern of this fine force.

The year 1900 is generally regarded as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Dominion, and is sufficiently accurate for general purposes. By that year the great transformation impending was quite obvious, and the greatest boom ever known in Canada had fairly started, though the full extent of its ultimate development was not yet suspected. In short, the country was coming into its own. What had been long understood in Canada seemed to be at length recognised by the world.

In the past thirty years population had only increased from three and a half to about five millions. In the next twenty it was to show double that increase. Immigrants poured in from Great Britain alone at the rate of from one to two hundred thousand a year, nearly all to the North-West. British, foreign and American capital flowed not only into these newer Provinces, but into lumbering, mining and industrial activities in Eastern Canada. All over England and Scotland men talked Canada, and Canadian investments became eagerly sought after. Immigration societies worked with unprecedented energy. Pamphlets showered like autumn leaves over the British Islands, and every newspaper sent out special correspondents. The Maritime Provinces with their million of population did not feel and, save in patches, have not greatly felt this uplifting, being in the main overlooked, for fairly obvious reasons, by the stream of men and capital that flowed past and beyond them.

The Boer War was in progress at the start of the movement, and Canada contributed an efficient corps of about two thousand men as a practical example of her loyalty to the Empire, and as a foretaste of her superb achievement of later years. Laurier, as a French Prime Minister, in view of the antagonism of most of his race to the project, had hesitated for a moment. But the alternative was his own deposition, and he gave way gracefully. Not very many French Canadians volunteered. This was not merely characteristic of their self-absorption, but unfortunately in certain districts they took to pro-Boer demonstrations, not from any knowledge of the question, as they had none whatever, but as a mere annoyance to the British minorities among them. A political firebrand, M. Bourassa, had been, and remained for long after, a chief *agent-provocateur* in arousing anti-British sentiment. The reader might well ask, having followed so far the story of Britain's attitude toward French Canada, what remained even for an agitator to work upon, in a free self-governing Province occupied by an extremely happy if reactionary people. In view, however, of the general French-Canadian attitude towards the recent Great War, when both their suzerain and their Mother-countries were fighting for their lives, these ill manners of 1900 and Bourassa's chronic agitation seem hardly worth attention.

Lord Minto was an efficient and popular Governor-General during the six years, 1898–1904, while this great flood of prosperity burst over Canada. The rapidity with which the North-West and British Columbia were developing filled the public eye, while a substantial share of wealth was reaped from it by the distributing and manufacturing centres of the Old Provinces. The C.P.R., contrary to the most sanguine expectations, was already paying good dividends, and its stock rose to far above par, where, with fluctuations, it has ever since remained. So far from proving in advance of its needs, as early prophets had predicted, the traffic actually outgrew its capacities to handle, and a second trans-continental railway, the Canadian Northern, had by 1905 reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains at Edmonton, while about the same time a third, the Grand Trunk, entered into the competition.

The absorption of local railroads into these great corporations, the building of others, the subsidies paid, and lands granted to them by the Federal and Provincial Governments, would fill a chapter. But a notion may be formed of Canadian railroad progress by gross earnings, which in 1875 were twenty million dollars, in 1905 a hundred and seven millions, and at the opening of the Great War nearly two hundred millions; while the passenger traffic increased fivefold in the first thirty-year period, and in the next ten doubled that total. The mileage increased in even greater ratio, from 2,000 at Federation to 40,000 at the present day.

Settlement mainly followed the line of the C.P.R., or the branch railroads projected from its various points. Winnipeg, the gateway and distributing base for the whole country, grew rapidly into an important city. Little towns already sprinkled along the railroad belt westward increased on a more modest scale, others sprang up. But it was the land, not the towns, that really counted on these rich prairies. For most of it was good in varying degrees. Nor is it generally flat, as popular imagination pictures a prairie, but rolling, after the manner of our Wiltshire downs, and watered by slow-running, muddy rivers, fringed with woods, and sprinkled with shallow lakes and ponds of every size.

Saskatchewan and Alberta, filling in the gap between Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains, were duly created Provinces of the Dominion, with the towns of Regina and Calgary as their legislative capitals. For the present, this long prairie belt is more or less occupied to a width of over three hundred miles. The middle Province, Saskatchewan, in the main resembles Manitoba, though more liable to drought, with grain as its chief dependence. Alberta, abutting against the Rocky Mountains, is more broken, more patched with woods, and watered by faster, clearer streams, fresh from the mountains, and in its southern half has an uncertain rainfall. Hence great tracts are laid under irrigation.

At first this foot-hill country of the Rockies had been largely given over to cattle and horse ranches. These declined before the fresh advent of settlers, who follow mixed farming, the winters being less rigorous than in the adjoining Provinces. The rush of immigration from Great Britain, the Continent and Eastern Canada, which swept into this country with the century, was a further drain on rural Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, for the French went but little. But the industrial and commercial wealth acquired in the growing towns, so largely from the expanding West, opened new local markets to the eastern farmers who, adapting themselves to its demands, brought back after twenty lean years the old prosperity.

The new Provinces were naturally of more mixed population.

British-Canadians, Old-country folk and Western Americans blend readily into a type, and that of the prairie country had been already set by the Ontarians, its chief pioneers. But settlement was now robbed of half its terrors, for modern science had made impossible such isolation as the older settlers had often known. An increased experience of the country too had greatly mitigated its acerbities. The seeds best calculated to resist the early autumn frosts, the chronic curse of the North-West, and the agricultural methods generally best suited to the country, had been ascertained; while coal-mining had helped to make well-warmed houses the rule.

A generation born on the prairies had grown up to regard their spaciousness as an essential of life, though their fathers belonged to one which doubted their fitness for human habitation; and such an atmosphere naturally created a certain difference of outlook between East and West, apart from their sometimes conflicting interests. For the average North-Westerner is apt to fancy himself the victim of Eastern manufacturers' and traders' greed, and watches the tariff with a jealous eye. He believes himself to be the main factor in Canadian prosperity of which he does not get his due share, and that the Eastern magnates skim the cream of it, while figuring before the world as the representatives of Canadian energy and progress—a complaint not wholly without justification.

The foreigners in the North-West are settled largely in national groups. The provincial Governments discourage, so far as they can, their tenacity of language and custom, as perpetuating racial cleavages undesirable in Canadian life. But this is something of a problem, which remains in the lap of the gods. The recent and present drift of immigration, being mainly British and American, promises to prove in time its surest remedy.

British Columbian history, save as regards the early settlement in Hudson Bay times, is wholly that of its material development since the first railroad linked it with Canada. In the sixties a dispute with the Americans concerning the adjacent island of San Juan, of some strategic value, was referred to arbitration, with the usual result of a verdict in their favour. The Pacific Province differs absolutely from the others, both those of the middle belt (the prairie country), or of the eastern belt, every habitable acre of which was originally cut out of primeval woods. It resembles the latter only in being largely a forest country, though varied by interludes of open, park-like tracts. But even its forests differ from those of Ontario, mainly consisting of huge cedars and hemlocks, sombre and dense upon the ground.

Extending up the Pacific coast from the American State of Washington to the far northern mining regions of the Yukon, its habitable belt is relatively narrow. The fraction as yet seriously utilised may be broadly described as a tier of parallel valleys dropping rapidly in altitude from the Alpine masses of the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains to the sea. Up these, separate streams of settlement have found and continue to find their way, sometimes for mixed farming, where the rainfall permits, but consisting more generally of fruit-farmers, aided by irrigation, or again of graziers. Along the coast belt, which is broken or mountainous, the great forests still mainly cover the land, far more formidable to the lumberman's axe than even those of Eastern Canada, and rarely worth the cost of clearing to the present generation of agriculturists.

Almost every climate is found in British Columbia. On the coast it is that of Devonshire, with even more rain in winter, though less in summer. In the upland, middle country, most favourable to farming settlement of all kinds, it is a compromise between that of the coast and of the prairie Provinces. In the Rockies and Selkirks, where mining is the chief industry, though some of the valleys are cultivated, the winter is of course more severe. Noble rivers and countless streams of clear, rapid water, abounding in trout and salmon, furrow the valleys, while lakes and pools abound. The chief city of the Province, Vancouver, stands on an inlet of the sea, overhung by mountains, and is the terminus of the C.P.R. On this account it displaced and rapidly surpassed New Westminster, at the mouth of the Fraser River, a dozen miles to the south, whose auriferous canyons attracted thousands of miners, viâ California, in the eighteen-fifties. When the mainland was made a Crown colony, New Westminster, close to the American border, had become its capital. But the lesser and the larger towns are now practically united by their respective suburbs, and the capital has been shifted.

Vancouver City was most unwisely named after the long, narrow island, which within easy sight lies parallel to the coast for over three hundred miles, and contains Victoria, the oldest town of all, and the inconveniently situated capital of the Province. All this occasions much confusion in the outside world, for Vancouver City is by far the larger and busier town. It sprang up with the advent of the C.P.R., and now contains 120,000 souls. It controls all the through trade, and does a large traffic with Asiatic countries. The fish-trade, particularly in salmon, both canned and frozen, is a leading industry, with New Westminster as its chief entrepôt, and the Japanese as its most active followers on the water.

Victoria lies at the southern point of Vancouver Island, seventy miles by sea from Vancouver City. As the island is only populated around its southern extremity, and is otherwise mountainous and densely wooded, such an ill-placed capital must be accounted for by its comparative antiquity. It is a quietly prosperous little city, with a good harbour, and is a port of call for the Pacific Ocean steamers from Vancouver, but makes no pretension to commercial rivalry with its more progressive neighbour across the straits. Its original settlers were not Canadians, but came direct from Great Britain by sea, or by California. A large proportion of the later arrivals who reside in it, or occupy the adjacent country, are British born. It is the most " English town " in blood, speech and habit in British North America, with an almost restful and leisurely social atmosphere, Vancouver City being much more " Canadian " in these respects. Besides the Japanese, there is a considerable Chinese element, chiefly labour and transient, on the coast, of which the Chinese quarter in Victoria is the centre. Though limited in scope by the jealousy of white labour, these Orientals are industrious and well-behaved. Esquimalt, near Victoria, is the Pacific naval station of the British fleet, but is little used; and there are also extensive coal-mines in the neighbourhood.

British Columbia forms altogether a most felicitous complement to the prairie Provinces. It supplies them with the timber and fruit that they lack, and incidentally provides a complete change of climate near at hand to such as fail to thrive in the keen air and long, hard winters east of the Rockies. The large traffic with the Orient, the presence of an oriental element, combined with a certain easy-going and " English " outlook on life, on the island and even on the mainland, assisted by its genial climate, gives something of a cosmopolitan atmosphere to British Columbia as compared with the other Provinces.

The chief political event of the prosperous era preceding the Great War was the sweeping victory of the Conservatives at the elections of 1911, which brought them back into power with Sir R. Borden as Premier. Since the Liberals, by the successful results of their opponents' railroad and tariff policy, had been deprived of any distinctive party cry, they seem to have reconciled themselves to accepting the situation and following an almost non-contentious policy. Their vigorous immigration measures had undoubtedly contributed to that general uplifting of the country which synchronised with their term of office. Their tariff concessions to British imports had pleased the growing Imperial sentiment, hitherto regarded as one of the assets of the Conservative party; though it should be noted that these party terms in Canada have by no means their full English significance, bitter though their rivalry may often be. For almost a generation visitors to Canada had been moved to ask, and generally in vain from their point of view, where the difference lay between a Conservative and a Liberal! The answer would as a rule be definite enough, namely, that one side was corrupt and the other was not—according to the political colour of the spokesman. But party really did seem reduced to a mere question of custom or heredity, mingled with a large element always ready to "give the other side a chance," in short, a matter largely of ins and outs, with the "spoils to the victors." Perhaps Laurier, though himself possessed of certain Conservative leanings, and his friends wearied a little of merely pursuing to greater perfection the policy of their opponents. In a former era their party had fought against bold railroad enterprise. In this one they had actually encouraged the two additional transcontinental lines. Perhaps they felt the need of a rallying party war-cry. At any rate in an ill-moment for themselves they raised as it proved an extremely infelicitous one, and were met by a crushing defeat.

A check about 1910 to the rampant prosperity, caused by its inevitable accompaniment, over-speculation, gave the Liberals an opportunity for their experiment. It took the form of a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. But they had misread the country, and in truth sentiment is hard to gauge. Materially they had some reason for confidence. With a lowered or removed tariff the North-Western farmers could undoubtedly supply themselves with manufactured articles from across the line cheaper than from Ontario or Great Britain. The whole farming community would have presumably gained more than lost by the measure, while the French-Canadians were expected to vote for anything their political idol and compatriot Laurier should demand. But an appeal to the country on this issue resulted in utter disaster to the Liberals. The figures surprised even the most prescient Canadians. Nor could the verdict be accounted for on material grounds. It was in truth an overwhelming expression of a desire for closer relations with the Mother-country, even though the cost might be some immediate sacrifice of material interests. It was unfortunate for Laurier. He had served his country and the Empire well and, *inter alia*, had done more to expand Canadian trade and regulate its many and complicated treaties than any of his predecessors. Pride in his great reputation, his eloquence and attractive personality had endeared him to the rank and file of his own race despite his rather British temperament and outlook and his independence of those clerical influences and pretensions which are the curse of French-Canadian politics. It is perhaps unfortunate for his memory that he survived in opposition through the war, not as against the Dominion share in it but to oppose the Act of Conscription which was made necessary at a rather late date by the widespread rejection of voluntary service by his French compatriots. He died too at a moment when his mere nationality as a French-Canadian was hardly favourable to a fervid recollection of his past services.

In some respects this was the most memorable election ever held in Canada—a worthy prelude to the glorious effort three years later, when both British parties sank their trifling differences and set the seal of their loyal blood on the great transformation which had already divided the Canada of the twentieth from that of the nineteenth century and wholly altered her position in the Empire and in the world.

XX

THE CALL TO ARMS, 1914

Up to the very eve of the Great War, Canada was living in what proved to be a fool's paradise. European countries had been half expecting the cataclysm for years. Even among other self-governing Dominions of the British Empire, such as Australia and South Africa, " the German menace " had been something real and present. In Canada, almost alone, the danger of war had been generally scouted as a delusion and a snare, and public opinion was almost wholly unprepared for the events that followed.

The reasons for this unpreparedness were various. So far as the French-Canadians were concerned, it was perhaps to be expected that a people so isolated, so untouched by the problems of world-politics, should be somewhat lacking in an appreciation of the dangers of the European situation. During the decade or so preceding 1914, moreover, there had arisen among the French in Canada, under the redoubtable leadership of M. Henri Bourassa, a pronounced Nationalist movement which had developed strong anti-imperialistic and anti-militaristic tendencies. What the French-Canadian Nationalists seemed to fear above all things was being dragged at the wheels of Empire; and any attempt to make ready the minds of Canadians against the day of Armageddon was regarded by them as mere Machiavellian trickery on the part of the Imperialists. Even Sir Wilfrid Laurier's inauguration of a Canadian navy was denounced as a device whereby the sons of the *habitant* might be forced to shed their blood in fighting the battles of England.

Among the English-speaking population of the country—who might reasonably have been expected to have a juster realisation of the impending menace—the causes of unpreparedness were somewhat different. No doubt here too the growing national feeling in the Dominion prevented Canadians of Anglo-Saxon origin from entering fully into the hopes and fears of the Mother-country. But the primary factor was, without question, a wave of pacifist feeling which, since the Boer War, had swept over the country from end to end, and which had manifested itself in a growing opposition to the building of Dreadnoughts and drill-halls, to military training in the schools, and to whatever else fell under the generic description of "militarism."

The consequence was that the outbreak of the Great War came to Canada like a thunderclap in a clear sky. Even the crime of Sarajevo, which sent a thrill of apprehension through the chancelleries of Europe, had no significance for Canadians. Not until news came of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia did the country begin to realise that there might be trouble; and even then most people confidently expected that the conflict would be averted, or at any rate localised. The Government itself was taken unawares. The war was practically on them before the members of the Government, summoned hastily from all points of the compass, gathered in Ottawa to deal with the situation.

The declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany on August 4 placed Canada in a somewhat anomalous position. Technically, when Great Britain was at war, Canada was at war.

Yet Canada had had no share in the control of the foreign policy which had led up to the war ; and, to a superficial view, it might have appeared that a conflict over the balance of power in the Balkans, or even over the German invasion of Belgium, did not greatly affect Canadian interests. The control of the armed forces of Canada, moreover, was vested solely in the Canadian Parliament ; and the extent of Canada's participation in the war rested with the Canadian Parliament to determine. It was open to Canada to take either an active or passive part in the war, as she saw fit. At the time of the South African War, indeed, so much opposition had manifested itself to the despatch of troops to the theatre of operations, and such strides had been made since that time by both the Nationalist and Pacifist movements, that the Canadian Government might perhaps have been expected to hesitate before embarking on a policy of active participation.

Happily, there was no hesitation. From the outset public opinion gave the Government a lead which could not be ignored, even if there had been any tendency to ignore it. The issue was such that, despite the fact that Canadian interests were not directly involved, the fighting spirit of the Canadian people was instantly aroused. The persistent blocking by Germany of Sir Edward Grey's efforts to preserve peace, the ruthless invasion of Belgium, the cynical remark of the German Chancellor about " the scrap of paper," above all the threat levelled at the heart of the British Empire—these things stirred and steeled the heart of the Canadian people as nothing had done since the War of 1812. Pacifism dissolved like a mist after sunrise ; and the country was swept by a wave of feeling remarkable for its unanimity.

Not only did the supporters of the Conservative Government urge the duty of Canada to throw herself whole-heartedly into the war, but Liberal and even French-Canadian Nationalist opinion ran along similar lines. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the veteran leader of the Liberal party, affirmed that " Canada would render assistance to the fullest extent of her power," and promptly proclaimed " a truce to party strife." The French-Canadian Mayor of Quebec declared that " all we can do to help the Empire in money, arms, and men should be done " ; and the French-Canadian Mayor of Montreal told his compatriots, " If you are needed, it is your duty to fight." There were, it is true, a few faint dissident voices, urging that Canada should confine herself to the defence of her own frontiers, and that she should even take refuge behind the illusory bulwark of the

Monroe Doctrine; but these were lost in the general chorus of loyalty and courage.

Supported thus by public opinion, the Government of Sir Robert Borden lost no time in taking decisive action. On July 30, while the issue of peace or war was still trembling in the balance, the Militia Council met and laid plans for the mobilisation of an expeditionary force of between 20,000 and 25,000 men, to be despatched to Europe in case of need. On August 1 the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General, who had been of course in telegraphic communication with the Prime Minister, cabled to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that "if unhappily war should ensue, the Canadian people will be united in a common resolve to put forth every effort and to make every sacrifice to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of the Empire"; and at the same time he made enquiries as to the status of a possible expeditionary force. Four days later, on the actual outbreak of war between Great Britain and Germany, the definite offer of an expeditionary force was made and "gratefully accepted"; and orders were immediately issued for the mobilisation at Valcartier, near Quebec, of a force of one division, numbering, with the necessary reserves, about 22,000 men.

From the standpoint of military preparedness, there were in 1914 few countries that were worse off than Canada. Apart from a negligible force of 3,000 permanent militia, or "Regulars," Canada had only a volunteer militia; and this militia was, in comparison with the armies of continental Europe, hardly better than the rabble which Falstaff led to Coventry. Even in comparison with her sister Dominions, Canada stood at a disadvantage. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa had all adopted prior to the war the principle of universal military training, and in 1914 they were beginning to reap the benefits of their foresight; whereas Canada still clung to the system of paid volunteers. This system was not only unsound in principle, since it threw the burden of defence on the patriotic or necessitous few rather than on the whole male population of military age, but it was also ineffective in practice, as was pointed out repeatedly by British general officers on whom devolved the duty of inspecting the troops.

Under section 69 of the Militia Act the Canadian militia could be placed on active service "anywhere in Canada, and also beyond Canada, for the defence thereof, at any time when it appears advisable to do so by reason of emergency"; and it is possible that this provision might have justified the despatch of part of the Canadian militia to Europe in 1914. But it was immediately recognised that the Canadian militia was so ill-adapted for service as an expeditionary force in a European theatre of war that it would be better to organise a new and distinct force, which would be handed over to the British War Office on arrival in England, and which would be placed on a footing similar to that of the British regular army. This policy was therefore adopted ; and the militia was used solely for the purpose of recruiting volunteers. Each unit of the militia was asked to raise a fixed quota of volunteers ; these were then embodied in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and were reorganised into new and improvised units.

Yet, if Canada was unprepared and her militia inadequate, the answer to the call to arms was inspiring. During the first days of August the Militia Department was inundated with telegrams from individuals and even from whole units volunteering for service overseas. Recruiting for the new force began, indeed, before it was authorised. As early as August 2 many militia units had opened recruiting offices to cope with the large numbers of volunteers flocking to enlist ; and when mobilisation orders were received it was found by most units that the numbers offering far exceeded the quota allotted. As a rule, therefore, only the best-trained and most physically fit volunteers were accepted ; and the First Canadian Contingent consequently took on something of the character of a picked force.

The Government had intended at first to send overseas only one division, with the necessary reinforcements ; but, in view of the eagerness displayed, and the heart-burnings that would have been caused by discrimination, it was finally decided to send overseas at once the whole force which was, with immense energy, now being concentrated at Valcartier ; it already numbered about 33,000 men. Space is not here available to describe the whole-hearted eagerness—and the terrific work which it entailed—with which the force was organised, equipped, and given the rudiments of training, all within the limits of some six or seven weeks. Suffice it to say that at the end of that period the first portion of the Expeditionary Force was in a fit state to be sent overseas and to finish its training in England. Toward the end of September therefore the camp was quietly evacuated ; and, the necessary arrangements having been made with the British Admiralty, the First Canadian Contingent embarked at Quebec in over thirty transports. The flotilla was concentrated at Gapsé Bay, where it was met by a convoy of British warships ; and on October 3 the entire Armada—containing the largest military force that had ever crossed the Atlantic at one time—set sail for the Great Adventure.

The First Canadian Contingent was destined to win for itself imperishable glory in Flanders fields, and especially at that modern Thermopylæ, the Second Battle of Ypres; but it cannot be emphasised too strongly that it was an almost impromptu force, raised and equipped in an essentially unmilitary country within the space of a few weeks, and, in comparison with the armies of Europe, only half-trained. Neither at Valcartier nor on Salisbury Plain, where the contingent spent part of the winter of 1914–15, were conditions such as to make thorough training possible. On Salisbury Plain, indeed, owing to an exceptionally bad winter, conditions were such that not only was training impossible, but there was a serious breakdown of discipline. When the First Canadian Division went to France in the beginning of February 1915, there was in some quarters not a little anxiety as to how they might acquit themselves. Such anxiety, however, was needless. Half-trained and half-disciplined though they were, the "original Firsts" (as they are still called in Canada) were all men of splendid physique and dauntless spirit; and most of them had that initiative and adaptability, born of conditions in the New World, which would seem to compensate in large measure for lack of training. Like the raw levies of the French Revolution, so the citizen-soldiers of Canada were destined to meet on equal terms the flower of the machine-made soldiery of Central Europe.

XXI

THE PARTY TRUCE, 1914–1917

THE "truce to party strife" which Sir Wilfrid Laurier proclaimed at the emergency session of the Canadian Parliament in August 1914 lasted—in some measure at least—until 1917. During the first half of the war therefore the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Borden was left free to devote its energies to the prosecution of the struggle, untrammelled, in the beginning at any rate, by party criticism.

Once the despatch of the First Contingent was decided upon, and arrangements for its mobilisation were in train, the Government turned its attention to other problems created by the outbreak of war. The most urgent of these was the financial question. In 1913 Canada had been overtaken by a severe commercial depression. Many factories were working on half-time; there was widespread embarrassment as the result of the deflation of land values; and there had been a general suspension of all public undertakings involving heavy expenditure. Canada was, moreover, still a debtor country. Between 1900 and 1914 she had borrowed in Great Britain over $1,200,000,000, and in the United States over $400,000,000. Part of this money had been invested in the building of two new transcontinental railways, which were as yet only nearing completion, and which were far from paying their own way. With the financial fabric of the world in chaos, the position of these railways now became desperate; and, since they had been constructed chiefly by provincial and federal guarantees, their solvency involved the credit of the Dominion. The country had been suddenly deprived also of the sources of supply on which the Government, the municipalities, and private enterprise ordinarily depended; and, on top of all, there now came the urgent and immediate necessity for heavy credits with which to finance the war.

Under these circumstances, the chief immediate concern of the Government was to maintain confidence and credit. At once bank-notes were made legal tender, and the banks were authorised to issue Dominion notes against approved securities and to make payments in notes instead of in gold. The issue of Dominion notes unprotected by the gold reserve was also increased. In this way, during the first two or three months of the war, additional currency was provided to the extent of $15,000,000. At the same time measures were taken to increase the revenue for war purposes. The customs tariff was raised, and the rates for postage were increased. As time went on, other special war taxes were imposed. In 1916 a levy upon excess profits was authorised, and in 1917 individual incomes were subjected to taxation by the Dominion. From all sources the annual war revenue of Canada leapt from less than $100,000 in 1914–15 to over $56,000,000 in 1918–19; and at the present time (1923) it probably exceeds $100,000,000. During the first year of the war, moreover, the Department of Finance succeeded in floating, first in London and then in New York, about $110,000,000 of loans, in order to protect its gold supply. Towards the end of 1915, however, the Finance Minister, Sir Thomas White, whose handling of the situation was admitted on all hands to have been masterly, became convinced that the time had come for a domestic war loan. The results of his appeal were magnificent. Where $50,000,000 were asked for, $110,000,000 were subscribed. Other domestic loans followed in rapid succession, and in each case were similarly oversubscribed. The Victory Loan of 1919 produced a total of $690,000,000, where only $300,000,000 were asked for; and the grand total of the domestic loans raised by Canada during the war was no less than $1,800,000,000—a sum that no one before the war would have dreamt Canada was capable of raising. Under the wise guidance of Sir Thomas White, not only was the financial crisis at the beginning of the war averted, but during the whole course of the struggle Canada's "silver bullets" proved no less effective than her leaden ones.

The next problem which the Government attacked was that of munition making. Apart from the Ross Rifle Factory and the small Dominion Arsenal at Quebec, there were no munition plants in Canada in 1914; but the iron and steel industry had reached considerable proportions in the country, and it was thought that a large number of Canadian factories might be adapted to the making of munitions; and as early as September 1914 a Canadian Shell Committee was appointed to organise Canadian production. Within four months no fewer than fifty Canadian manufacturers were engaged in making shells for the British Government.

It was not until after the summer of 1915, when Mr. Lloyd George became Minister of Munitions in Great Britain, and Mr. D. A. Thomas (afterwards Lord Rhondda) was sent out to Canada to rearrange the letting of munition contracts, that munition-making in Canada reached its full development. As a result of Mr. Thomas's visit the Canadian Shell Committee was superseded by the Imperial Munitions Board, a purely British organisation unconnected with the Canadian Government. Under the chairmanship of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Flavelle, a prominent Canadian business man, this board developed the manufacture of all sorts of munitions of war in Canada to a very remarkable extent. Through the agency of the board orders for munitions were placed aggregating $1,300,000,000 before the war was over. To take only one item, Canadian plants turned out from first to last, at a moderate estimate, no less than seventy-five million shells of all grades, from the 18-pounder to the 9·2-inch. In the case of the 18-pounder, it is a remarkable fact that in the last six months of 1917 over half of the total British output of shrapnel shells of this type came from Canada alone. And shells were only one of a hundred items in the whole output. From the standpoint of the supply of material for the war Canada's achievement, especially when the small beginnings from which she started are taken into account, was amazing, and reflected the highest credit on the business men of the Dominion. But this does not exhaust its importance. It was the munition contracts that set the wheels of industry turning again, that revived public confidence, and that made possible the subscription of hundreds of millions to war loans. Without them Canada would have had the gravest difficulty in financing her part in the war.

A third question to which the Government early directed its attention was the matter of food production. Canada was an agricultural country, and the Allies needed food supplies no less than men. At first the Government limited its efforts to appeals to the farmers to increase production; later it appointed a Food Board, to which was assigned the duty not only of stimulating production but of conserving supplies and regulating consumption. As a result of these measures Canada was enabled to export to the war-ridden countries of Europe food-stuffs out of all proportion to what she had exported before the war. By 1918 the annual export of eggs, which had been only 158,217 dozen before 1914, had jumped to 4,898,793 dozen; the annual export of wheat-flour had jumped, in the same period, from 434,969 barrels to 9,931,148 barrels; and the export of beef from 5,217,652 lb. to 86,565,104 lb. These figures are perhaps the most striking, and other exports did not show the same stupendous increase; but, taken all in all, Canadian food exports to Europe more than quadrupled themselves during the war. This development not only proved a very substantial addition to Canada's contribution to the winning of the war, but it meant also the opening up of new trade-routes, and thus added more than a cubit to Canada's economic stature.

Behind the war-effort of the Canadian Government lay the war-effort of the Canadian people. This revealed itself in a multitude of diverse ways. It was seen, for instance, in the patriotic attitude adopted by the great agencies for moulding public opinion in Canada, the newspapers, the churches and the universities. Especially notable was the war-work of the women. In the beginning, perhaps, it was merely a case of "Sister Susie sewing shirts for soldiers"; but, as the struggle progressed, the women of the country came to fill in more and more the gaps in the home front. They went overseas as nurses and ambulance drivers; they formed a large proportion of the workers in the munition-factories; they filled the places of men in the banks; and in the later stages they even undertook the drudgery of work on the farms. So splendid was their war-effort that, before the war had ended, it had won tangible recognition in the granting of female suffrage in every Province of Canada save Quebec, although when the war began there was not a Province in which female suffrage had been introduced.

Lastly, something should be said about the attitude of organised labour. There was from the beginning some apprehension, perhaps, as to how organised labour would behave; and it cannot be denied that a number of strikes took place during the war which seriously interfered with production and transportation. There was unrest among the miners of Northern Ontario, among the coal-miners of British Columbia and Alberta, among the elevator-workers of Port Arthur and Fort William, and among the longshoremen of Vancouver. But in most of these places the strikes were partly due to the presence of alien and socialistic elements which had never been very amenable to the responsible leaders of Canadian labour. On the whole, the attitude of labour was no less sound than that of other elements in the population. The Dominion Trades and Labour Congress in 1914 formally resolved " to send every assistance possible to the Allies in a mighty endeavour to secure early and final victory for the cause of freedom and democracy "; and this resolution was adhered to throughout. From the beginning organised labour opposed the principle of conscription, and it adhered to this attitude when the Military Service Act was introduced in 1917; but this attitude was the result of a difference of opinion as to means rather than as to end, and should not be allowed to detract from the great credit due to the labour unions for the loyal way in which they co-operated with the Government, the manufacturers and the railways.

A striking feature of the war-effort of the Canadian people was the raising of the Canadian Patriotic Fund. This fund was incorporated by an Act of the Canadian Parliament in August 1914. In a few municipalities and in one or two Provinces the money for the Fund was raised by local taxation; but the bulk of it was obtained by voluntary subscription. In all, a sum of nearly $50,000,000 was raised; and of this over $40,000,000 were paid out during the war to help those whose breadwinners were at the front. In addition to this sum, approximately $20,000,000 were contributed, in cash and supplies, to the Canadian Red Cross; $6,000,000 to the British Red Cross; and to the French Red Cross, the Belgian Relief Fund and the Polish Relief Fund, millions more. To the military work of the Y.M.C.A. alone no less than $5,000,000 were contributed. Taken all together, it is probable that the total of voluntary contributions in Canada for war purposes exceeded the sum of $100,000,000—a splendid showing for a young country whose tax burdens were at the same time growing by leaps and bounds.

For a country so pacific, so unmilitary, so unprepared as Canada was in 1914, it must be said that she readjusted herself to the new conditions imposed by the war with amazing unanimity and rapidity. "To her lovers in those great and gallant days," as one of them has said, "Canada seemed the lady-knight Britomart, beautiful and terrible, hastening to the field, and buckling on her armour as she ran."

Hardly had the First Contingent been despatched to England when the Canadian Government authorised the formation of a Second Contingent. The strength of this contingent was placed at two brigades of Mounted Rifles—which, it was thought, would be useful in harrying the Germans when they were routed, but which were ultimately turned into foot-soldiers—and seven battalions of infantry. In raising this force, which brought the whole contribution of Canada up to the neighbourhood of 50,000 men, no difficulty was experienced. Many of these units were recruited in a day. As in the case of the First Contingent, the difficulty was to weed those that offered. There seemed no lack of volunteers, once they were called for. Even when, on July 8, 1915, the Canadian Government by Order in Council raised the authorised strength of the expeditionary force to 150,000 men, there appeared at first no difficulty whatever in filling the bill.

By the latter part of 1915, however, enlistments began to thin out. The units of what was known, popularly but unofficially, as the Third Contingent—for the idea of distinct contingents, borrowed from Canada's participation in the South African War, was early discarded by the Government as the magnitude of the struggle became apparent—were easily brought up to strength; but in the case of the subsequent battalions authorised recruiting to full strength was sometimes a struggle. Units were no longer raised in a day, nor yet in a week. To get recruits, it became necessary to appeal for them, in the press, on the platform, on the street; and some of the appeals were of doubtful dignity and wisdom. Recruiting, too, became expensive; and many units had to go to the public to obtain financial assistance in their recruiting campaign. To cap the climax, the Government raised the authorised strength of the expeditionary force on October 30, 1915, to 250,000; and on January 12, 1916, it set before itself the task of raising a total of 500,000 men.

It was at this juncture that an insistent demand was first heard for compulsory military service, or conscription. Among the recruits who had come forward were many married men with families, who were certain to cost the country heavily in separation allowances, patriotic fund grants and pensions; whereas many unmarried men were holding back from enlistment. If only from the standpoint of finance, it was urged that a system of recruiting which gave rise to such a condition of affairs was wrong, and that the State itself should say who should go.

It was the judgment of the Government, however, that the country was not ready for conscription. Both Sir Robert Borden and Sir Sam Hughes, indeed, had taken a definite stand against the policy of compulsion. The French-Canadians and organised labour were both known to be opposed to it; many persons with confused ideas as to liberty regarded it as savouring of German militarism; and Canadians were proud of the fact that every Canadian soldier was a free man freely enlisted. The attempt to secure recruits by the voluntary system was therefore continued for a full year and a half longer; and every device conceivable was used with a view to galvanising the system into renewed life.

The results obtained by means of expedients, moreover, were hardly commensurate with the efforts put forth. Many units found that the cost of recruiting ranged anywhere from $10 to $50 per head. Many men were enlisted who were totally unfit for active service, and who had later to be discharged, after having cost the country a great deal for their upkeep and training. And, in the end, the overwhelming majority of these later units were compelled to proceed overseas far below strength. By the beginning of 1917 enlistments in Canada had fallen off until they were actually exceeded by the Canadian casualties at the front; and it became clear that Canada's military effort was waning rather than waxing.

Under these circumstances the demand for a system of compulsory military service increased in strength and insistence. The fact that Great Britain and New Zealand had adopted conscription, and that the United States, from the very moment of her participation in the struggle, had used the draft, reconciled many people to the idea who had previously been opposed to it. In the spring of 1917 Sir Robert Borden visited the Canadian troops at the front; and what he saw and heard there convinced him that if Canada was to play her full part in the war the voluntary system would have to be discarded. On his return he converted the leading members of his Cabinet to his view; and in the summer of 1917 the Government finally announced that it would introduce into Parliament a Military Service Act based on the principle of compulsion.

By this time the party truce was already breaking down. From the beginning there had been a tendency on the part of certain Government journals to twit the Opposition on the score of its pre-war pacifism, and to blame it for Canada's inability to take a more effective part in the naval side of the struggle. Naturally these pin-pricks had been resented by the Liberals, who believed that if the naval programme of the Laurier Government had not been discarded Canada would have been in 1914 in a much more satisfactory position than if the Borden proposals of 1913 had gone through; and gradually the Opposition had begun to adopt a more critical attitude toward Government measures.

The Liberals, moreover, could not help distrusting certain members of the Government. As time went on, even Sir Robert Borden himself came in for their animadversions. No one questioned his integrity or his patriotism; but many people, most of whom perhaps hardly appreciated the difficulties which pressed in on him from all sides, did question his force of character, his ability to make decisions. It was complained that he was slow and hesitating, that he was too fond of temporising instead of acting, that it was with him too much a case of *solvitur ambulando*. The truth is that Sir Robert Borden was lacking in those spectacular qualities that impress the populace. He never captured the imagination of the Canadian people. His pedestrian oratory, his legal mind, his caution, his patience—though at a later date these were seen to be invaluable assets—disappointed popular expectations. Even the scrupulous reticence with which, during the whole course of the war, he avoided provocative utterances made him in some quarters appear colourless and ineffective.

But the minister on whom was heaped the greatest obloquy was Sir Sam Hughes, the Minister of Militia. Sir Sam Hughes had long been a sort of stormy petrel of Canadian politics. A man of boundless energy, but vain, he was at the same time handicapped by a rough tongue and a short temper. In 1916 revelations of "graft" in connection with the letting of contracts by the Shell Committee, though the minister himself was absolved from complicity, did him no good; and at the same time the controversy over the Ross rifle brought on him the bitterest attacks. The story of the Ross rifle is a long one, and can only be summarised here. It was a rifle manufactured by a Canadian company under contract with the Canadian Government. Although it was admittedly an excellent target weapon, the Canadian troops at the front lost confidence in it, either because of its intrinsic defects as a service weapon or because they had not been properly trained in its use. In 1915 whole companies of the Canadians threw away their Ross rifles and picked up Lee-Enfields on the battlefield. Yet Sir Sam Hughes insisted on retaining the Ross rifle as the Canadian service arm; and it was only after repeated representations had been made about it by British Generals that the Canadian Government finally discarded it. In the same way, the Canadian troops were fitted out with equipment—such as a wonderful combination shield-and-entrenching-tool known among the soldiers as "Sam Hughes's shovel"—which had to be thrown on the scrap-heap in England. It was indeed freely said that Sir Sam Hughes had sent Canadian soldiers to their death inadequately armed and equipped.

The truth is that the Canadian Department of Militia was without sufficient knowledge of the type of weapons and equipment required at the front; and this was partially due to the relations between Sir Sam Hughes and the War Office becoming gradually somewhat strained; for Sir Sam showed himself at times not averse from instructing the War Office as to how the war should be conducted. Sir Robert Borden, whose loyalty to his political friends was at once his strength and his weakness, had hitherto, with a patience that had perplexed the whole country, stood by his Minister of Militia; but in November 1916 Sir Sam Hughes came to blows even with the Prime Minister, and Sir Robert Borden then threw this political Jonah to the whales.

Criticism of the Government was thus not lacking during 1915 and 1916; but it was only when the conscription issue was thrown into the arena in the spring of 1917 that the very semblance of the party truce broke down. Sir Robert Borden announced the conversion of the Government to the principle of compulsory military service on May 18, 1917. On May 28 he invited Sir Wilfrid Laurier to join with him in forming a Coalition Government, with the object of putting conscription into force. For a time it seemed possible that Sir Wilfrid would accept the invitation; but in the end he replied that he did not see his way clear "to join the Government on the terms proposed." He was faced, in fact, with a tragic choice: he who had devoted his whole life to the promotion of harmony between "the two races" in Canada had to choose whether he would break with his own people, who seemed unalterably opposed to anything that savoured of conscription, or whether he would place himself at their head in what was likely to be his last battle. Whatever he did he was certain to disrupt the Liberal party; for, whereas the French-Canadian Liberals were anti-conscriptionist, a considerable wing of the Liberal party in the English-speaking provinces was already pro-conscriptionist. Under these circumstances Sir Wilfrid preferred to cleave unto his own people; and no one who understands the heart-breaking character of the alternatives presented to him should blame him overmuch.

Henceforth the issue was joined between the Conscriptionist party, led by Borden, and the Anti-conscriptionist party led by Laurier; and a general election loomed up as the only solution of the question at issue.

XXII

THE UNION GOVERNMENT, 1917–1918

Conscription was adopted by the Parliament of Canada in July 1917. The Military Service Act, which brought conscription into effect, divided the male population of military age into six classes, the first of which—the only class actually called up—included "those who have attained the age of 20 years and were born not earlier than the year 1883 and are unmarried, or are widowers but have no child." The passage of the Bill was vigorously contested; but it passed its second reading by a majority of 118 to 55, and its third reading by a majority of 102 to 44. Among those who opposed it were all the French-Canadian members except four or five, and the old guard of the Liberal party from the English-speaking provinces; but it was supported by the solid mass of Conservative members, apart from a few Quebec Conservative-Nationalists, and by a large group of English-speaking Liberals. It was hoped that the Act would yield in the neighbourhood of 100,000 recruits, which was about the number required to bring Canada's military effort up to the figure which the Government had set before it; and though, owing to the exemptions provided for and the inequalities which developed in the application of the Act in different parts of the country, the results were at first somewhat disappointing, in the end the Act yielded the full number expected, and so assured to the Canadian forces in the field the necessary reinforcements.

But although Sir Robert Borden had carried conscription, he did not rest at that. Had he been playing politics he might have been content to enjoy the fruits of his victory, which had brought with it the disruption of the Liberal party; but fortunately he had longer and more statesman-like views. During the months that followed the passage of the Military Service Act he never lost sight of the hope of bringing about the formation of a Coalition or National Government. The point had been reached, in his opinion, when a union of all the forces devoted to the full development of Canada's war-effort was essential.

The refusal of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to join in the formation of a Coalition Cabinet in the summer of 1917 on the basis of compulsory military service might have daunted a statesman less patient and persistent than Sir Robert Borden. On July 3, however, he was encouraged by a clarion call issued by Sir Clifford Sifton, one of the ablest of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's former colleagues, for a National War Government; and on July 26 Mr. N. W. Rowell, the leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Ontario Legislature, came out in favour of conscription and union. In pursuance of this policy a meeting was arranged on August 9 at the Government House in Ottawa, at which were present, beside the new Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Robert Borden, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Lomer Gouin, Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, Sir Clifford Sifton and others. At this conference an attempt was made to bring the leaders of the divergent parties together. Unfortunately, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Lomer Gouin proved impervious to all appeals; and it became clear that the Province of Quebec was going to be irreconcilably opposed to conscription.

Under these circumstances everything depended on the attitude of the Liberals in the West. If, in addition to the majority of the Liberals of Ontario, the Liberals of the West could be induced to support a Coalition Government, a union Cabinet of no small impressiveness might still be formed, despite the attitude of Quebec. But if the Western Liberals held aloof, the last hope of forming a real Union Government was gone. At first it looked as though the prospects of bringing the Westerners into the Government were far from bright, but eventually Sir Robert's efforts were rewarded. On August 20 a number of the Western Liberal leaders met him in Ottawa. On August 22 several of the delegation returned to the West to consult with their friends; and on August 23 they telegraphed to him that "they favoured a National Government and the formation of a War Council of Six of which Sir Robert Borden should be one, but they thought a change of leadership essential." To this proposal of a change of leadership, however, a caucus of the Conservative party proved itself strongly opposed; and once more it seemed as though the hopes of union had been blasted. But a month later negotiations were reopened. On October 12 Sir Robert Borden was able to announce that success had at last crowned his long-sustained and patient efforts; and on the following day the composition of the new Union Government was made public.

The new Government was a triumph of Cabinet-making. Sir Robert Borden remained Prime Minister, and with him there continued to be associated, either as heads of departments or as ministers without portfolio, the majority of the members of the old Cabinet, including its most outstanding figures, such as Sir Thomas White and Sir George Foster. At the same time room was found for no less than ten Liberals. The French-Canadians were represented by two ministers, Lieutenant-Colonel P. E. Blondin and Mr. J. P. A. Sévigny—though both of these members afterwards suffered defeat at the polls. All parts of the country were represented in the Cabinet, and there were few provinces in which ministers were not chosen from both of the two great political parties. Ontario, for instance, furnished an almost equal number of Liberal and Conservative ministers.

The platform announced by the new administration filled many people with sincere enthusiasm. Not only did it place in the forefront of its programme "the vigorous prosecution of the war," including the immediate enforcement of the Military Service Act, but it also struck a non-partisan note, which pleased most people, in its espousal of civil service reform and the abolition of political patronage.

The fact remained, however, that there was still an opposition. The Province of Quebec was almost solidly opposed to the new administration, and it was supported in the other provinces by a considerable wing of the Liberal party which still followed the revered leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. With the break-down of the party truce an election became inevitable; and the first task of the new Government was to face an appeal to the country.

In anticipation of an election, the Borden Government had already introduced and pushed rapidly through Parliament a War-time Election Bill, which had as its object the establishment of a uniform franchise throughout Canada. The terms of the Bill were sufficiently drastic. It disfranchised all persons of alien enemy birth who had been naturalised in Canada since 1902; and, though it gave the franchise to women, it gave it only to those women who were near relatives of Canadian soldiers who had actually proceeded overseas. At the same time arrangements were made for polling the vote of Canadian soldiers even in the firing-line. This meant that, while the element in the country most likely to oppose conscription was disfranchised, the element most likely to be favourable to conscription was virtually given a double vote; and it was therefore not surprising that the Act encountered the bitter antagonism of the Anti-conscriptionists. Sir Wilfrid Laurier attacked it as a breach of faith on Canada's part with the immigrants whom she had invited to her shores; another "scrap of paper" had been torn up. Even among Unionists there were those who doubted the wisdom of this "gerrymander" of the electorate. Its only defence lay in the fact that a supreme crisis in the war had arrived, and that in this crisis a regulation of the franchise seemed necessary. On these grounds its defence was intelligible; but on any other it was difficult.

As a matter of fact, it would seem that the precautions of the Government were unnecessary; for in the elections, which took place in December 1917, the Union Government polled a huge majority. Quebec went overwhelmingly Liberal; only three Unionist candidates were elected in the whole of that province, as against sixty-two Liberals. But the rest of the country went just as overwhelmingly Unionist. The gross popular majority for the Union Government, if both the civilian and the soldiers' vote are included, was in the neighbourhood of 300,000; and the parliamentary majority of the Government, in a house of 235 members, turned out to be no less than 153. Under these circumstances it must be regretted that the severe provisions of the War-time Election Act were thought to be necessary. It would have been much better if the Government had trusted the Canadian people.

The sharp cleavage between the Province of Quebec and the rest of Canada in the elections was a source of grave disquietude to many Canadians. The causes of the cleavage were various. There is no doubt that the situation in the Province of Quebec was not well handled either by the Militia Department or by the Government as a whole in the early days of the war; much was left undone that might have been done, and consequently the Nationalists were able at a very early date to renew their anti-imperial agitation, with a considerable degree of success. The extremes to which M. Bourassa and his henchmen went in 1916 and 1917 would, indeed, have been thought impossible in 1914. In his newspaper *Le Devoir*, and in a series of pamphlets—such as his famous brochure, *Que devons-nous à l'Angleterre?*—M. Bourassa actually opposed the participation of Canada in the war at all. What added fuel to the flames was the fact that French Canada was passionately aroused over the "bilingual school question" in Ontario, where the use of French as a language of instruction had been forbidden except in the first grade of the primary schools. "There are 200,000 French-Canadians in Ontario to-day," declared M. Bourassa, "living under worse oppression than the people of Alsace-Lorraine under the iron heel of Prussia." Among a proud and sensitive people, not too well educated up to their international responsibilities, this sort of appeal was not without its effect; and by 1917 it is doubtful if even Sir Wilfrid Laurier could have carried many constituencies in Quebec on a conscriptionist platform. Once, however, the verdict of the electors was pronounced, it is to the eternal credit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal leaders in Quebec that they unhesitatingly recommended compliance with the law; and though there were some difficulties encountered in the administration of the Military Service Act in Quebec, the French-Canadian people on the whole showed themselves to be good losers. At no time was there in Canada, as in South Africa, really a question of civil war between "the two races."

Between the elections in December 1917 and the signing of the armistice in November 1918 the efforts of the Union Government were devoted to one object, and one object only—the winning of the war. The supply of reinforcements for the front had to be kept up; and, in spite of difficulties, before the armistice was signed the total enlistments in the Canadian army had far exceeded the figure of 500,000 which the Government had set before itself, and of these well over 400,000 had actually proceeded overseas. From the operation of the Military Service Act itself considerably more than the promised number of 100,000 recruits was obtained.

To ensure the conservation of food supplies a Canadian Food Board was established at the beginning of 1918 with the double object of regulating the consumption of food-stuffs in the country and increasing food-production. At the same time a War Trade Board was organised, with the threefold object of controlling the export from Canada of articles essential to war industry, controlling the import into Canada of non-essential articles, and supervising the raw materials of the country for effective use in war. With a view to the increased transportation overseas of food-stuffs and war materials—the security of which had been seriously affected by the German submarine campaign—the Government shipbuilding programme was also speeded up ; and during the year 1918 there were launched in Canada no less than 112 vessels, 59 of them steel and 53 wooden, with an approximate deadweight tonnage of 446,600 tons—without taking into account a large number of small craft of less than 1,000 tons, such as trawlers and drifters, built to order of the British Admiralty.

The financing of this intensified war-effort of the Government was handled by Sir Thomas White with no less signal success than the financing of Canada's war-effort in the first years of the struggle. In 1917 and 1918 he appealed once more to the people of Canada to subscribe to the war bonds of the Dominion ; and the Victory Loans floated in both of these years exceeded in amount anything that had preceded them. New taxes had also to be levied. These took a form which met with general approval. In addition to increased customs duties and higher rates of excise, a special war-tax was placed on railway tickets, telegrams, cheques, letters, patent medicines and amusements. Luxuries, such as tobacco, motor-cars and jewellery, were taxed with especial stiffness ; by the excess business-profits tax the war-profiteers were compelled to disgorge a part of their gains ; and a new feature was the Dominion income-tax inaugurated in 1918, the first instance of direct taxation in the federal sphere since the birth of the Dominion half a century before.

An additional and striking feature of the war-effort of the Government was the enactment of national prohibition of the manufacture and inter-provincial transportation of spirituous liquors. The manufacture of spirituous liquors and their importation into the provinces, except for medicinal and scientific purposes, were forbidden ; and as a war-measure there can be no doubt that this action was widely popular.

The Government also, with commendable foresight, decided to take time by the forelock, and appointed demobilisation committees charged with looking after the reabsorption of the army in the social and economic fabric of the country. The comparative smoothness with which Canada was able later to bridge the transition from war to peace conditions was in no small measure due to the forehandedness of these committees.

During these later years of the war, moreover, the Government of Canada acted in the closest harmony and co-operation with that of Great Britain. In the earlier stages, and especially during the period when Sir Sam Hughes was Canadian Minister of Militia, there had been a certain amount of friction. Once, however, that Sir Sam Hughes had retired from office, relations rapidly improved. An overseas Ministry of Militia for Canada was established in London, in direct touch with the War Office; and both Sir George Perley, the first occupant of the post, and his successor, Sir Edward Kemp, distinguished themselves, not only by their efficient administration of the overseas military forces of Canada, but by the concord which they established with the British authorities. In 1917, moreover, the meeting of the Imperial War Conference, which was attended by Sir Robert Borden and some of his colleagues, had laid the basis of a closer co-operation between the component parts of the Empire; and the creation of the Imperial War Cabinet, which held sessions both during 1917 and 1918, provided the machinery which had hitherto been lacking for a unitary direction of the Empire's war-effort.

With regard to the course of the Union Government since the armistice of November 11, 1918 various opinions may be entertained; but no one who examines its history before that date can fail to recognise that it displayed an energy and effectiveness, a purity of motive and a high-minded patriotism such as have seldom, if ever, been seen in Canadian politics.

XXIII

THE CANADIANS OVERSEAS, 1914–1918

No attempt can be made to review adequately, within the brief compass of a few pages, the story of Canada's armed participation in the Great War. Certainly no such attempt will be made here. But it may be possible to fill in the outlines of the story, and to try to place the achievements of the Canadian army in their proper perspective in relation to the part played by the armies of the other, and much greater, nations with which Canada was associated.

The first Canadians to reach France were the members of a hospital unit, which crossed the English Channel in the beginning of December 1914. These were followed by the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, a regiment composed mainly of British reservists and old soldiers, which had been organised separately from the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and which was sent to France shortly before Christmas 1914 as part of the 27th British Division. It was not, however, until February 1915 that the First Canadian Division—the advanced guard of the Canadian Expeditionary Force proper—landed in France, and received their baptism of fire. The first months of their occupancy of the front line were devoted mainly to an apprenticeship in the art of modern warfare, and particularly in the new art of trench-fighting. The Canadian artillery took part in the ill-starred Battle of Neuve Chapelle in March, and the infantry were on the outskirts of the fighting, ready to advance if the situation called for it. But apart from this engagement the Canadians saw no heavy fighting until, toward the end of April 1915, they suddenly found themselves thrown into the inferno of the Second Battle of Ypres.

The Second Battle of Ypres was one of the critical battles of the war. It was the last attempt of the Germans to snatch a decision in the west before the slow-moving forces of Russia were able to make their intervention effective in the east; and in it the Germans came within a hair's-breadth of rolling up the British armies in Flanders and France, of seizing the vital Channel ports, and of reaping the fruits of the victory they had failed to achieve at the Marne. That they did not succeed in their attempt was largely due, in the first instance, to the Canadians, who unexpectedly found themselves in the path of the German advance.

On April 17, 1915, the First Canadian Division had been put into the line on the northern face of the Ypres salient, with the French on their left and the British on their right. Five days later, on April 22, when they had barely settled down into their new position, the Germans launched against them and the French troops on their right a form of attack which even they had hitherto hesitated to employ. This was the diabolical invention of an attack under cover of poison gas. During the late afternoon of April 22, what looked like a "yellow-greenish smoke" arose in dense clouds from the German trenches opposite the French line and the left of the Canadians; and as the fumes, propelled by a northerly wind, rolled on, the French troops—largely superstitious natives of North Africa—broke and fled in an agony of mind and body. The situation in which the

Canadians then found themselves was one of the most critical which could arise in warfare. Their left flank was completely in the air ; and not only they, but the whole of the British forces in the Ypres salient, were threatened with encirclement by the field-grey masses that poured through the gap in the French line. According to all the rules of war, the Canadians should have retired as quickly as possible, to avoid being surrounded. But the effects of a retirement would have been so serious that General Alderson, the Imperial officer who had been placed in command of the Canadians, decided, with a magnificent confidence in the fighting qualities of the troops under him, to stand his ground. He merely " refused " and lengthened his left wing, so as to meet the attack from the north-west, and at the same time shortened and flattened out the rest of his line.

If the Germans had at this juncture pressed home their attack, and especially if they had had a large force of cavalry to throw into the breach in the Allied line, there is no telling the extent of the disaster that might have occurred. Deceived, however, by the strength of the Canadian resistance, and embarrassed perhaps by their own poison gas, they failed to take advantage of their opportunity, and so gave time for the Allies to bring up their scanty reserves. Two counter-attacks undertaken by Canadian reserve battalions, in defiance of all military precept, against the very apex of the German advance, definitely slowed it up. Gradually British reserves were rushed up from farther south, and thrown in to stop the gaps in the line, cheering their Canadian comrades as they came. The ordeal through which the latter passed defies the power of language to describe. For three days they faced a storm of gas and shot and shell such as no other troops on the Western front had hitherto been called upon to endure ; and though their line bent here and there, nowhere was it broken. When on the night of April 25 the division, a mere shadow of its former self, was relieved by other troops, the Germans were still knocking in vain at the gates of Ypres.

After April 25 the battle continued with almost unabated ferocity for a month ; and during this time the British and Indian troops who relieved the Canadians had to meet crisis after crisis. But it must be said in fairness to the Canadians that the supreme crisis was over. Never again did the Germans have the opportunity they enjoyed, and lost, during those first crucial hours of April 22–23, when, had they known it, there was nothing to prevent them from pushing through into Northern France but a single division of Canadian volunteers, strung out along a thinly-held salient. When the British Commander-in-Chief reported that the Canadians had " saved the situation," he stated no more than the truth. Seldom in the course of the war did such a small body of troops exercise at such a crucial juncture such a decisive influence on the course of events; and never did any troops display more conspicuously the quality of

> ". . . courage never to submit or yield,
> And what is else not to be overcome."

During the year that followed the Second Battle of Ypres the Canadians saw comparatively little heavy fighting. In May and June 1915, after they had been brought up to strength again by reinforcements from England, they took part in some engagements north of the La Bassée Canal—engagements which are known by the name of the Battles of Festubert and Givenchy. But these affairs, though bitterly fought, were on a small scale, and produced results measured only in yards. The remainder of the year passed in the sort of trench warfare which at this period settled down over almost the whole of the Western front. In this type of warfare, it is true, the Canadians particularly distinguished themselves. Their proficiency in games of sport made them from the first dangerous antagonists in the new art of bombing; they early established an ascendency over the Germans in the midnight patrol-fighting which sprang up between the lines; and they had a good claim to be regarded as pioneers in the science of trench-raiding. It was early in November 1915 that the Canadian staff came to the conclusion that parties of determined troops, working on carefully-rehearsed lines, could enter the enemy trenches, inflict damage and casualties out of all proportion to their own losses, and make good their escape; and during the winter of 1915–16, as well as later, many such raids were carried out by the Canadians with striking success. But this fighting, interesting though it was, was little more than a means of marking time; and it was not until April 1916 that the Canadians found themselves involved once more in struggles of a major character.

By this time the Canadian army in France had grown from one division to three. The reconstituted First Division had been joined by the Second Division in September 1915; and the two had been organised into a separate Canadian Corps. Then, just after New Year's Day 1916, the corps had been strengthened by the addition of the Third Division. Finally, in August 1916, the Fourth Division joined the others, and the corps reached the establishment which it was destined to retain during the rest of the war. Before this last event, however, heavy fighting had again broken out. The Canadians had passed through the Battles of St. Eloi and Sanctuary Wood; and the First Battle of the Somme, in which they were destined to play no mean part, was already in full blast.

The Battle of St. Eloi took place in the beginning of April 1916 at the southern re-entrant of the Ypres salient. This sector had been much fought over; it was a wilderness of mine-craters and shell-holes, and the rains had turned it into a veritable quagmire. On April 3 the Canadians relieved on this front a British division which had succeeded in establishing themselves in the German forward positions. The position, however, had not been consolidated; and before the Canadians were able to consolidate it, the Germans counter-attacked. The Canadian advanced posts were overwhelmed, and nearly all the British gains were lost. Unaccustomed to defeat, the Canadians battled on for two weeks, under impossible weather conditions, in a vain attempt to recover the ground they had lost. In the end they had to give up the attempt, and to dig in on the line from which the British had set out—the only occasion in the whole course of the war when the Canadian Corps was compelled to accept defeat.

That under less appalling conditions the Canadians could have won back the crater-positions they had lost at St. Eloi was amply demonstrated, two months later, at Sanctuary Wood, north of St. Eloi, and directly east of Ypres. Here, on the morning of June 2, 1916, there broke over the Canadian trenches a tornado of shell-fire such as had not before that time been seen on the Western front. To such a point had the Germans brought their new "drum-fire" that it obliterated not only a line of trenches but a whole area, and almost every living thing within the area. The result was that when, in the early afternoon, they advanced to the assault, they encountered only knots of dazed survivors, who surrendered or died fighting. Eventually, the Canadian reserves succeeded in holding up the further advance of the Germans; but a Canadian counter-attack undertaken the following day broke down utterly, and it began to look as though the Canadians had been once more worsted.

Sir Julian Byng, who had succeeded General Alderson in command of the Canadians, had not, however, shot his last bolt. He resolved to teach the Germans that two could play at the game of intensive artillery preparation; and he set to work to assemble behind the Canadian front a concourse of guns of overwhelming proportions. By June 12 his preparations were complete. During the night of June 12–13 a whirlwind bombardment was opened on the Germans which blew them out of their trenches, just as the Canadians had been blown out of their trenches ten days before; and a dashing attack by the First Canadian Division succeeded in completely re-establishing the Canadian line, except in the ruins of Hooge, which had been lost on June 6, and which it was not deemed advisable to reoccupy.

From the standpoint of strategy, the battle of Sanctuary Wood was no doubt an affair of minor importance. But in the history of the Canadian Corps it was an incident not without significance. It was the encounter in which the Canadians first decisively established their ascendency over the Germans. The feeling which it evoked in the Canadian Corps was well expressed by a senior staff officer, who declared that "this was a personal matter between the Württembergers and the Canadians, and the Canadians were going to win." It is an eloquent fact that, after Sanctuary Wood, the German General Staff never again chose that part of the front occupied by the Canadians for the launching of an offensive.

In the great British offensive on the Somme, which began on July 1, 1916, the Canadians had at first no part. It was not until the beginning of September, when the struggle had degenerated into a slogging-match, that the Corps was brought south and thrown into the battle. The Corps won, in the middle of September, a brilliant initial success in the capture of Courcelette—perhaps the neatest performance to its credit up to this time. But the period that followed was one of long-drawn-out and bitter struggle and only partial success. The weather broke; the terrible Somme mud made progress all but impossible; even aeroplane reconnaissance became difficult. After weeks of repeated efforts the Canadians at last captured the chief German line of defence north-east of Courcelette, which was known as Regina Trench; but the achievement, heroic though it was, was no less heroic than many other episodes in the Battle of the Somme, nor was the part taken by the Canadians more distinguished than that taken by many other troops in the course of that long and bloody struggle. They were here merely a cog in the wheel of Allied strategy.

The first occasion on which the Canadians came to fill the rôle which they later assumed almost exclusively, that of "storm-troops," was at the Battle of Vimy Ridge, in the spring of 1917. During the winter of 1916–17 the Canadians had held the labyrinth of trenches to the west of this ridge, which was a long upland of about 500 feet in height just north of Arras, and a cardinal point in the German line. It was in fact on this hinge that the Germans pivoted in their retirement to the Hindenburg line toward the end of that winter. When the Allies planned their long-awaited "spring drive" in 1917, it was arranged that, while the French attacked in Champagne, the British should carry out a concentric attack in front of Arras. The southern part of the assault was to be carried out by British troops, but the northern and more difficult part, which lay opposite Vimy Ridge, was assigned to the Canadians.

Preparations for the offensive were undertaken on a scale hitherto undreamed-of. Not only were many roads built, but the railways behind the lines, both standard and narrow gauge, were doubled in number. Dummy trenches were constructed on which the troops could rehearse the assault; and the Canadian staff, in fact, took the men into their confidence to an extent which the result amply justified. Over one thousand pieces of artillery were concentrated behind the Canadian lines alone, at a rate of one gun to every seven yards; and for three weeks before the attack these guns shelled the German positions with such intensity that the German front line was almost cut off from reliefs and food supplies. Then, on Easter Monday, April 9, the attack was launched. Except at the northern end of the ridge, where a temporary check was sustained, the Canadians advanced through the three lines of the German defence on a time-table. By the end of the first day they were well up to the crest of the ridge, and had taken thousands of prisoners at comparatively slight cost to themselves. The following day the advance was continued; and the Canadians swept over the crest of the ridge, having stormed a position which the German General Staff had deemed impregnable. By April 13 they had cleared the reverse slope of the enemy, and had debouched on to the plain beyond. The whole operation was perhaps the most successful and spectacular which had been carried out on the British front since the period of trench warfare had supervened; and it firmly established the reputation of the Canadian Corps as a *corps d'élite*.

When the Battle of Arras finally died down in the beginning of May, the Canadians were moved north to the sector opposite the mining town of Lens, on which, during the battle, the Germans had kept a tight hold. Surrounded as it was by numerous suburbs and slag-heaps, Lens was a hard nut to crack, especially by frontal attack; and when the Canadians laid siege to it, they proceeded circumspectly. First, at the end of June and the beginning of July, they attacked to the south of it, and half encircled it on this flank. Then, on August 15, they stormed Hill 70, on the northern flank. Hill 70 had been reached, but not held, by the British in the Battle of Loos in September 1915. Since then the Germans had further strengthened it. After a bitter struggle, however, the Canadians captured it, and with it three of the suburbs of Lens. Without doubt Lens itself, beleaguered as it was, would in due course have fallen before the blast of the Canadian trumpets; but at this juncture circumstances arose in another part of the line which made it necessary, in the judgment of the British Headquarters, to suspend further operations against Lens, and to transfer the Canadians to their old battlefield of the Ypres salient. In the late summer of 1917 the British had launched an offensive in the salient with a view to widening it and seizing the surrounding ridges before the winter fell. The attack had been at first most successful, but with the coming of the autumn rains it had stuck fast. In order to lend new impetus to the attack, it was decided to confide to the Canadians the task of completing the operation; and in October, therefore, they were moved north and ordered to take the Passchendaele Ridge.

The task confronting the Canadians at Passchendaele was one which might well have daunted less confident troops. The terrain was in such condition that much labour had to be expended, under the very eyes of the Germans, in building roads on which to get the guns forward; and the high ground occupied by the Germans gave them a great superiority in observation. The German defences, moreover, had been strengthened by numerous concrete "pill-boxes," which were invulnerable except to the heaviest shell-fire. Throughout the battle the German infantry fought with a stubbornness worthy of a better cause; and on several occasions it became necessary for the Canadians, struggling forward often hip-deep in the liquid mud of the battlefield, to make a temporary retirement, in order to reorganise the attack. In the end, however, the Canadians achieved their objective. Their first attack, which was launched on October 26, brought them to the slope of the ridge. A second attack, on October 30, carried them to the outskirts of the village of Passchendaele; and on November 6 they captured the village, together with the rising ground to the north of it. A final assault on

November 10 placed in their hands the last remaining spurs of the ridge; and they were able to rest on their laurels, their mission fulfilled. "For the second time within the year," as Sir Douglas Haig reported, "Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success."

In yet another engagement toward the end of 1917 Canadians distinguished themselves. The Canadian Cavalry Brigade—a force incorporated in a British cavalry division, and quite distinct from the Canadian Corps—formed part of the force with which Sir Julian Byng, now Commander not of the Canadian Corps but of the Third British Army, sought to capture Cambrai in the latter half of November. The chief feature of the operation was the use by the British of a large force of tanks, which were to surprise the German line, and were to be followed up by a large body of Allied cavalry. The honour of constituting the spear-head of this cavalry mass fell to the Canadian Cavalry Brigade, which had been waiting literally for years for a chance to break a lance with the foe. At first, the attack developed with brilliant success. Then, as the cavalry swept forward, it was found that an important bridge over the Canal du Nord had collapsed, and the advance had to be countermanded. But before orders to this effect were received, a squadron of the Fort Garry Horse had already crossed the canal, and had dashed forward into the country beyond. The adventures of this gallant squadron deserve to rank with the story of the Six Hundred at Balaclava. They charged almost up to the gates of Cambrai itself; then they fought their way back on foot to the British lines, sadly reduced in numbers, but victorious over all opposition. The *arme blanche* of the Canadian army got few chances during the war of showing what it could do; but the Battle of Cambrai was one of them.

During the winter of 1917–18 the Canadians saw no notable fighting. A considerable part of this time, indeed, the various divisions of the Canadian Corps spent in rest and in training. They had come by now to be regarded frankly by General Headquarters as "shock troops"; and every effort was made to nurse them into the highest possible state of efficiency, with a view to the grand offensive which the Allies were planning for 1918. Under their new Commander, Sir Arthur Currie—a Canadian business man who had commanded a brigade at the Second Battle of Ypres, and who had succeeded Sir Julian Byng during the summer of 1917—they developed a fighting spirit of which Sir Arthur Currie himself said, with justifiable pride, that it was "such that there is no position they are asked to take which they will not take."

Active fighting broke out on the Western front in the spring of 1918 with the great German offensive of March—the *Friedenssturm* to which the Germans pinned their last hopes of a victorious peace. In this fighting, however, the Canadians hardly participated. The Canadian Cavalry Brigade, which was attached to the Third British Army, did some splendid work in helping to stem the tide of the German advance; and a Canadian railway battalion formed part of the famous miscellaneous force with which General Carey stopped the road to Amiens. But the Canadian Corps, which was in the Lens sector, saw nothing of the struggle. Nor did the later German drive toward the Channel ports in the Armentières sector touch the Canadians. With the battle raging on both sides of them it almost seemed as though the Germans had deliberately avoided challenging them to ordeal by battle.

It was not, in fact, until the latter part of the summer of 1918 that the Canadians were again called into action. By this time the German offensive had lost its momentum, not only on the British but also on the French front; and Marshal Foch, the new Generalissimo of all the Allied forces in France, had already launched his long-expected counter-offensive. He had squeezed the Germans out of the huge salient created by their drive toward the Marne; and he now planned, before the Germans could recover their breath, to strike at them another body-blow in the sector opposite Amiens. For this offensive Sir Douglas Haig, to whose command the operation was confided, called on the Canadians and the Australians. The Canadians were brought down from the Lens sector with surreptitious secrecy; such care, indeed, was taken to mislead the Germans as to their whereabouts that two Canadian battalions were actually put into the line in the Ypres sector, and facilities afforded the Germans for identifying them. In the event, it was found that these precautions had been completely successful, and that the Germans opposite Amiens had no inkling of the fact that the Canadians were within thirty miles of them.

The attack was delivered, under cover of a fortunate mist, on the morning of August 8. From the first it went even more brilliantly than had been expected. The Canadians, who were given the post of honour as the spear-head of the assault, penetrated into the German positions to an average depth of over seven miles on the first day of the advance;

the Australians on their left ran with them a neck-to-neck race; and the French and the British on either flank of the main attack were hardly less successful. It was a remarkable fact that the number of prisoners captured by the Canadians during the day of August 8 actually exceeded the total number of their casualties; and the list of villages taken by them was like the catalogue of the ships in Homer. The following day the advance was continued; and before the Germans were able once more to stabilise their line, the Canadians had pushed them back to an average depth of fifteen miles, had captured over 12,000 prisoners, besides vast quantities of war material, and had severely shaken the *moral* of the German High Command. "August 8," as General Ludendorff has since confessed, "was the black day of the German army"; and we now know that it was at this point that the German Staff finally realised that their hopes of a victorious peace were vain. It would be absurd to claim for the Canadian Corps the whole credit for this result—for there were at least nine other British divisions engaged; the battle of Amiens was one in which Canadians, Australians, British and French covered themselves with equal glory. But it is fair to point out that in the battle the movements of all other troops were synchronised with those of the Canadians, and that the Canadians therefore may be said to have set the time and the pace.

The success which attended the Amiens offensive and the signs of demoralisation in the German army which it revealed encouraged the Allied High Command to continue offensive operations on a large scale. On August 24 the British attacked on a broad front along the Somme in the direction of Bapaume, and the Germans were thrust back behind the Somme. It was apparent, however, that an offensive in this sector could have no decisive results, since the Germans still had at their backs the Hindenburg system which they had occupied prior to March 28, and behind which they would be able to rally and reorganise. The most obviously favourable point of attack for the Allies was the hinge of the Hindenburg system opposite Arras. If this hinge could be broken, and if the Allies could get well behind the Hindenburg line at this point, the German armies both to the north and the south would be threatened in the rear, and the German hope of being able to pull themselves together behind the shelter of the Hindenburg line would be shattered.

The Battle of Amiens, therefore, had not yet died down when the Allied High Command decided to strike opposite

Arras. Once again the Canadians were chosen for the honour of leading the attack. They were withdrawn from the Amiens front, and were spirited north by what must have seemed to the Germans a species of magic. The removal of the Corps, which took place amid the confusion of an active battle-front, began on August 19; and on August 26, exactly one week later, they were attacking the main Hindenburg line south of their old battle-ground at Vimy Ridge, in the sector opposite Monchy-le-Preux.

The task which the Canadians, at this short notice, were called on to fulfil was by far the most stupendous they had yet encountered. It was not merely a question of breaching the main Hindenburg line, but of carrying in succession no less than four distinct systems of reserve defences behind that line. The whole of the ground between Arras and Cambrai was, in fact, an elaborate defensive zone, a series of Giant's Castles. Nor was there any possibility of repeating the surprise achieved at Amiens. The German defences opposite Arras were such a critical joint in the German armour that the defenders were certain to be in force and on the alert; and in any case the German positions so dominated the British that concealment was out of the question. For a single army corps of four divisions—assisted only by two famous British divisions—to effect a definite break-through on this front was an undertaking that might have appalled the bravest.

The series of operations which followed—carried out on a schedule under which two divisions, each fighting on a one-brigade front, remained in the line for three days at a time, and were then relieved by another two divisions—went from the first almost "according to programme." By the evening of August 27 the 2nd and 3rd Divisions were well through the front line of the Hindenburg system, and were approaching the first of the German reserve systems, the Fresnes-Rouvroy line. On August 30–31 this line was carried by the 1st and 4th Divisions, supported on the flank by the 51st Highland Division; and the Canadians were brought within striking distance of what the Germans called the Wotan line, and the British the Drocourt-Quéant switch. This line represented almost the last word in military engineering: the approach to it was defended by a broad *glacis*, studded with machine-gun nests, and protected by wide belts of wire; it was provided with subterranean tunnels and passages comparable only with the London "tubes"; and it was itself a maze of strong points. The Germans had, moreover, filled it with troops, no less than eight fresh divisions occupying the frontage assigned to the Canadian Corps alone. Yet, on September 2, the Canadian tanks and infantry, working on a complicated schedule whereby units " leap-frogged " each other, went through the Drocourt-Quéant switch-line in their stride. This brilliant victory enabled the British on the Canadian right to widen still further the breach in the German defences ; and by September 3 the Germans had been thrust back, on a large front, to the Canal du Nord, the last of their prepared positions.

The Canal du Nord was a defensive barrier of great natural strength. It was about one hundred feet wide ; it was flooded, except at the extreme southern end of the Canadian front ; and the high ground to the east of it gave the Germans a superiority which made the organisation of an attack very difficult. It was therefore decided to call a halt at this juncture to the Canadian operations, and to defer an attack until it could be combined with a grand offensive by the British and American troops farther south. These were not in a position to attack the centre of the Hindenburg line until toward the end of September ; but on September 27 they advanced on a broad front opposite the Cambrai-St. Quentin sector, and the Canadians once more moved forward on their left flank. The piercing of the heart of the Hindenburg line by the British Third and Fourth Armies in the last days of September was no doubt the crowning feature of the British offensive up to this point. Together with the American offensive in the Argonne, it destroyed the last hopes the Germans had of maintaining a stone-wall defence. But scarcely less notable, whether from the standpoint of tactics or of strategy, were the Canadian operations which resulted in the forcing of the Canal du Nord and, later, in the capture of Cambrai. These operations not only protected the flank of the main British advance, but they themselves resulted in the outflanking of the German line farther north, and thus contributed to bring about the Allied advance in this quarter to the Belgian frontier.

The character of the Canadian operations was unusual. Since it was deemed inadvisable to attack along the flooded part of the canal, the attack was confined to a narrow " bottleneck " on the southern flank. Through this the whole Corps had to pass, and then it had to spread out in a fan-shaped formation on the eastern side of the canal. Such a manœuvre obviously presented great difficulties ; but it was carried out with complete success. During September 27 the Canadians not only captured all their objectives, but they also contributed materially to the capture of the ill-omened Bourlon Wood, where the British on their immediate right had suffered a temporary check. The following day they reached the Douai-Cambrai railway; on October 1 they penetrated to the Canal de l'Escaut; and on October 9 they entered Cambrai, the terminus of the road they had been following for six weeks of bitter and almost continuous fighting.

In the Battle of Arras-Cambrai the four divisions of the Canadian Corps had certainly borne the brunt of the battle; for with some assistance from other British divisions they had engaged and decisively defeated no less than thirty-one German divisions, had captured a total of nearly 20,000 prisoners, nearly 300 guns, and over 2,000 machine-guns and trench-mortars, and had liberated over 116 square miles of French territory, including the city of Cambrai and dozens of towns and villages, all at a loss to the Canadians of barely 30,000 casualties, killed, wounded, and missing. Such facts speak for themselves.

After the capture of Cambrai the Canadians were shifted north to the sector west of Douai; and here they began that triumphal march which ended only, at the moment of the signing of the armistice of November 11, with the capture of Mons. In the course of this advance the Canadians saw again some hard fighting, particularly in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, which they stormed, with their customary success, on November 1; but the chief difficulty was to keep in touch with the rapidly retiring enemy. The rapidity of the troop-movements, the very thorough demolitions carried out by the Germans, and the relief of the hundreds of thousands of starving civilians whom the advance liberated threw a terrible strain on the supply services; and some corps on either side of the Canadians found themselves, for this reason, compelled to halt. The Canadians, however, never lost touch with the foe; and when, on the eve of the armistice, the German resistance stiffened in front of Mons, the Canadians were able to sweep it away without difficulty. The last troops to leave Mons on August 23, 1914, had been the 42nd Highlanders, the famous Black Watch; the first troops to enter it on the morning of November 11, 1918, were the 42nd Royal Highlanders of Canada, who wore the Black Watch tartan. Where the Lion of England had retired fighting at bay, the cubs of the Lion in the fullness of time stood victorious.

With the signing of the armistice the fighting was over. The terms of the armistice however called for the occupation by the Allies of the left bank of the Rhine, as well as the Rhine bridgeheads; and the Canadian Corps was chosen as part of the army of occupation. From Mons the Corps advanced through Belgium, and a part of it into Germany, where the end of the year found it keeping its watch on the Rhine. Early in 1919, however, the divisions of the Corps were one by one released from further service and sent back to England; thence, as shipping was available, they were returned to Canada and demobilised. By the end of the summer of 1919 the Canadian Corps—one of the most superb fighting forces fashioned on any front during the Great War—passed quietly out of existence.

But its record lives after it. If anyone in 1914 had ventured to predict that the raw citizen soldiery of Canada would play in several of the battles of the Great War a decisive part against the professional armies of Central Europe, he would doubtless have been regarded by military experts as an ignorant and deluded enthusiast. Yet the prophecy would have been justified by the event. Especially during the campaign of 1918 the Canadian Corps exercised a decided influence on the course of the struggle; and from August 8 to November 11 it was almost continuously engaged in battles of the first magnitude which had a direct bearing on the general situation, and in which it played a leading rôle. Nothing can rob it of the glory of having contributed, in a much greater measure than is sometimes realised, and in a much greater measure than its numbers warranted, to the defeat of the German arms

XXIV

THE MAKING OF PEACE, 1918–1920

After the signing of the armistice, the first problem that confronted the Canadian Government was that of getting back to a peace basis. Before the armistice was signed, indeed, Mr. Lloyd George cabled to Sir Robert Borden requesting that he should immediately come to Europe to take part in the deliberations preceding the Peace Conference; and in November 1918 Sir Robert Borden, accompanied by three of his colleagues, Sir George Foster, Mr. Sifton, and Mr. Doherty, sailed for England. In December the Imperial War Cabinet was re-convened in London; and at its meetings Sir Robert Borden insisted firmly on Canada's right to separate representation in the Peace Conference. He succeeded in gaining his point, and it was agreed (1) that Canada and the other Dominions should have the same representation as Belgium and other small Allied nations, and (2) that some of the representatives of the British Empire should be drawn from a panel on which each Dominion Prime Minister should have a place. In the middle of January the Imperial War Cabinet transferred itself to Paris, as the British Empire Delegation to the Peace Conference; and at the Quai d'Orsay there met together on January 18 the greatest diplomatic assemblages that modern history has seen. At the deliberations of the Conference the Canadian representatives—and especially Sir Robert Borden—played a conspicuous part; and when the Peace Treaty was finally formulated, the Canadian delegates [1] affixed their signatures to it, as "parties and signatories," with the rest.

The most serious struggle of the Canadian delegates for recognition arose, however, in connection with the formulation of the constitution of the League of Nations. To admit to membership in the League a country which, however glorious the part it had played in the war, was not technically a sovereign State was a distinct innovation in international practice; but Sir Robert Borden insisted on the right of the British Empire to define itself as a League of Nations in miniature, and on the consequent right of Canada to separate representation in the larger League. In the end Canada, with the other British Dominions and India, was given representation in the Assembly of the League, and it was even agreed that her representative should be eligible for election to the Council of the League. In this way her national status came to be recognised, not only within the circle of the British Empire but in the circle of international politics as well.

In September 1919 the Canadian Parliament met and formally approved of the whole of the Peace Treaties, thus paving the way for the definitive declaration of peace.

Undoubtedly the assumption by Canada of a distinct national status, first in the Imperial War Conferences, then in the Peace Conference, and finally in the League of Nations, has produced a rather anomalous situation. The machinery of the Old Empire has not yet been wholly discarded, and machinery has not been created to meet the demands of the new situation. Just what form this machinery will take remains to be seen. One thing, however, may be asserted with confidence: whatever solution of the problem is found, it will not be along the line of Imperial centralisation, so far as Canada is concerned. There have been in Canada, even since the war, too many signs that the tendency is in the opposite direction. The vote in the House of Commons in the spring of 1919 against the granting of any more Imperial titles in Canada, the agitation since that time for the abolition of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the proposals that the Governor-General should be appointed only on the advice of the King's Canadian Ministers—all these are straws showing the direction of the wind. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that they point toward independence. Though Canadian opinion is almost solidly against any form of Imperial centralisation, it is almost solidly in favour of the retention of the Imperial connection; and it would actually seem that, in proportion as the more mechanical bonds of Empire disappear, the stronger become the spiritual ties. It is precisely because the Canadian people see in the new British Commonwealth of Nations a microcosm of the League of Nations that is to be that they value their partnership in it.

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[1] Messrs. Doherty and Sifton.

Side by side with the task of making peace at Paris went the problem of demobilisation and the return to a peace basis at home. The repatriation of Canada's overseas army alone presented serious difficulties, as the German submarine warfare had greatly depleted the number of vessels available for the transport of troops. Such delays occurred that there broke out in the Canadian camps in England several most unfortunate riots, in some of which there was actually loss of life. But by the end of the summer of 1919 practically the whole of Canada's overseas army had been repatriated, and the various units had, after receptions at their local mobilisation centres in which feeling ran wild, been disbanded.

Thanks to the sound economic condition of the country and the very successful measures adopted by the Government, demobilisation went off much more smoothly than anyone could have expected. The first measure taken by the Government was to grant to all demobilised soldiers a war bonus on a very generous scale, to tide over the period of transition. Then, to all those who were willing to go on the land, special assistance was given. The Land Settlement Board offered to intending soldier-farmers loans up to $8,000 for the purchase of land, stock and implements, at the low interest rate of 5 per cent. and on very attractive terms of repayment, the loans being repayable in twenty-five annual instalments. For these loans over 50,000 applications have been received, and of these over 36,000 have been approved, the average loan for each settler being $3,700. To other special classes assistance was given as well. Government employment agencies were opened; public works, which had been suspended during the war, were resumed; appeals were made to employers; wide-reaching attempts were made to build up Canada's international trade; and in many other ways efforts were put forth to find work for the demobilised.

It was however to the rehabilitation of the disabled that the Government devoted its most earnest attention. The scale of military pensions was increased until it far exceeded that adopted by any other of the countries which had been at war, save only the United States. But the Government did not stop there. The Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment set up in various parts of the country schools of occupational therapy, where disabled soldiers were able to re-fit themselves to follow a trade or business for which they would be suited; and in this way thousands of crippled men have been able to start life anew.

In other phases of reconstruction the Government showed itself equally vigorous and alert. The sum of $25,000,000 was provided to assist in the solution of the housing problem; $10,000,000 to assist in the building of good roads; and in order to stimulate trade, credits of over $150,000,000 were extended to Great Britain, France, Romania, Greece and Belgium, to enable them to purchase Canadian exports of both manufactures and raw materials; and a Canadian Trade Commission was sent to London to place export orders in foreign markets.

The difficult problem of post-bellum finance the Government faced with scarcely less success than they had faced the problem of war-time finance. In 1919 a last Victory Loan was floated, and then the Government settled down to the almost hopeless task of making revenue and expenditure meet. Sir Henry Drayton, who succeeded Sir Thomas White on the latter's retirement as Finance Minister in the summer of 1919, imposed in 1920 some wholly new taxation, and at the same time the Government addressed itself to the task of curtailing expenditure. Despite the heavy demands which the reconstruction period has made on it, it has been partially successful in achieving this result.

Linked up with the question of the finances was the question of the railways. During the war the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk, and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railways had become virtually insolvent; and the Government was faced with the alternative of either continuing the policy of making cash subventions to these roads—a policy which would have meant heavy drafts on the Treasury—or of adopting the policy of railway nationalisation. It chose the latter course; and first the Canadian Northern and then the Grand Trunk, with the Grand Trunk Pacific, were merged with the Canadian National Railway system, under a Board of Railway Directors. The Canadian Pacific Railway, since it was still operating profitably, was left under private control. Thus the Dominion of Canada became one of the largest railway proprietors in the world, with a total of no less than 22,000 miles of railway line extending from Halifax on the Atlantic to Prince Rupert on the Pacific.

On the whole, it must be said that the way in which the Union Government handled the problems of reconstruction constitutes a record of which any Government might have been proud. No Government in Canada has ever placed on the statute-books such a mass of sound and useful legislation, nor has any Government even encountered and solved so many intricate and perplexing administrative problems.

Criticism of course there was. The Government's inability, or unwillingness, to compel the war-profiteers to disgorge their ill-gotten gains profoundly angered the returned soldiers, who now saw themselves obliged to start life anew, while newly-rich " slackers " rolled by them in insolently opulent motor-cars. Before long the return soldiers' organisations began to demand confiscation of war-wealth and the granting of larger bonuses to those who had fought in France. These demands the Government did not see its way to grant; and thus, almost from the moment of demobilisation, the Government found a large number of the returned soldiers arrayed against it.

The most striking illustration of the industrial unrest was the Winnipeg strike of May and June 1919, when Winnipeg was at the mercy of the Strike Committee, a body hardly distinguishable from a Russian Soviet. The citizens organised a Committee of One Thousand to protect their rights, but even so, the strike continued until June 26, and was marked by several serious clashes between the strikers and the forces of law and order. Eventually, however, the strikers' money gave out, and the strike was called off without conditions.

From the standpoint of politics, however, the most dangerous insurgent movement which the Government had to face was probably that of the farmers. In 1909 they adopted a Dominion-wide organisation, under the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and in 1910 the famous " siege of Ottawa " by eight hundred farmers was partially instrumental in bringing about the adoption by the Laurier Government of the reciprocity proposals of 1911. In 1916 a " Farmers' Platform " was issued; in 1918 this was revised and brought down to date; and in 1919 they decided to launch forth on the sea of politics for themselves. The new party won its first victory in the provincial elections in Ontario in 1919, when the Conservative administration of Sir William Hearst was defeated, and a Government was formed by the Farmers in conjunction with the Labour party. Since then the Farmers have entered Federal politics as well, and in all by-elections occurring in rural districts they have put forward candidates, with on the whole remarkable success. They have now in the rural constituencies a very complete organisation; and when it is remembered that in the Canadian Parliament the rural representation outnumbers the urban, it will be seen that the Farmers' movement constitutes a serious menace to the Union Government.

The retirement of Sir Robert Borden from the Prime Ministership in July 1920 marked indeed the end of the Unionist Government as such. An administration which had lost, within the brief space of one year, four such outstanding members as Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, Mr. Crerar and Mr. Rowell could not pretend to be anything more than a ghost of its former self. At a caucus of the Unionist party held at the time of Sir Robert Borden's resignation, it was decided therefore to make a break with the past, and to reorganise the party as " the National Liberal and Conservative party." To lead this new party, and to succeed Sir Robert Borden in the Prime Ministership, there was selected one of the youngest and most vigorous of the members of the Cabinet, Mr. Arthur Meighen. Mr. Meighen, a man of only forty-six years of age, was the white hope of the Conservative wing of the Unionist party; and—once it became clear that Sir Thomas White, to whom the eyes of the party first turned, could not be persuaded to take up again the burdens of office—he was the logical successor to Sir Robert Borden.

XXV

PARTIES AND POLITICS, 1920–1923

After the formation of the Meighen Government, the problems of politics in Canada were far from being simple. The old two-party alignment broke down, and there were in Parliament no less than five distinct parties or groups. Besides the members of the "National Liberal and Conservative party," which comprises the majority of the English-speaking members of the House of Commons, there were the official Liberal party, the Farmers' group, the Labour members, and some French-Canadian Nationalists. The Liberal party in Parliament was composed of an almost solid delegation from the Province of Quebec and of a growing number of English-speaking members.

The platform which the reconstituted Unionist or National party adopted in 1920 was, as might have been expected from the fact that the party contained both Liberal and Conservative elements, neither very progressive nor very reactionary. It declared for "firm adherence to British connection"; but it insisted that Canada is "a member of the Britannic Commonwealth with the status of a self-governing nation," and it laid down the rule that "no treaty, understanding or commitment which may involve the Empire ought to be undertaken except after consultation and by common consent in the common interest." The key-note of the platform was contained in the demand for "policies that are nation-wide in their application or effect and that look toward the growth and development of the whole of Canada."

It is, however, about the fiscal policy of the party that interest chiefly centred. The Conservative party had been since 1878 in Canada the party of high protection, and a large part of their support was always derived from the commercial and industrial elements in the country. The Liberals, on the other hand, have always leaned toward low tariffs or even toward free trade. To find a tariff policy on which both the Conservative and Liberal elements in the new party could unite was not an easy task; but the problem was solved with considerable adroitness. No general declaration was made either for or against high protection; and it was merely agreed that there should be a revision of the tariff, after a "thorough enquiry" had been made "to ascertain the essential facts on which tariff provisions must necessarily be based." During the later half of 1920 a Commission with Sir Henry Drayton, the Minister of Finance, at its head held sittings all over Canada with a view to studying the situation; and it is probable that if a new tariff is framed, it will at least be free from many of the anomalies of the present tariff. It is even possible that in many cases the new duties may be lower than the old.

The programme of the Liberal party, which comprised the bulk of the parliamentary opposition to the Government, was formulated at a Dominion convention of the party at Ottawa in

August 1919. The calling of this convention was rendered necessary primarily by the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on February 17, 1919, and the problem of choosing a new leader for the party. The choice of the convention finally fell on Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie King, the grandson of the leader of the rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada. Mr. Mackenzie King had been Minister of Labour in the Laurier Government; he was only forty-six years of age; he was an able and at times eloquent speaker; and his general principles rendered him acceptable to the French-Canadians.

The platform which the convention proceeded to formulate differed rather in degree than in kind from that which the Unionists adopted later. Many of the planks in the two platforms, indeed, such as those regarding labour legislation, direct taxation, immigration, and the return to the Western Provinces of their natural resources, would appear to be substantially the same. In others, the difference is one mainly of stress; whilst most that can be said about the fiscal plank in the Liberal platform is that it favours "freer trade." On the whole, the Liberal proposals have perhaps a more radical and progressive character than those of the Unionists; but it cannot be said that there is any very sharp cleavage between the two in matters of principle.

The platform of the Farmers, as issued by the Canadian Council of Agriculture in November 1918, is in many respects identical with that which the Liberals adopted eight months later, with the addition in turn of some radical and progressive features peculiar to itself. In regard to the tariff there is practical identity of policy, with this difference, that the Farmers would appear to lean somewhat more strongly toward Free Trade than the Liberals. As in the case of the two older parties, the fiscal policy of the Farmers was really protective in principle.

The fact is that there was probably between the policies of the Unionist, Liberal and Farmers' parties not even so great a difference as appears on the surface. If there is any question which might fairly be described as a bone of contention between the parties, it is the tariff; and yet everyone in Canada knows that there would not be a world of difference in the tariff schedules brought down by any Government, whether that Government were of a Unionist, Liberal or Progressive complexion. At most the question is one of a small percentage one way or the other.

A considerable element in the Farmers' party was in 1921 anxious to "broaden out" its basis and to transform it into a "People's party." At the time, it was confidently expected that this would take the form of an alliance between Farmers and Liberals. But the General Election, due in 1922 and held in December 1921, decided otherwise. The United Farmers took the Labour members into their fold and termed themselves the "Progressive" party, securing a membership of 65 seats altogether. The Old Conservatives mustered not more than 50; whilst the Liberals, under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King, swept the board and were returned to power by a bare majority of 2 over the other two parties combined. Since, however, the latter are not likely to see eye-to-eye in many questions, the danger to the Liberal Government is not great. Meanwhile the Conservatives, and not the Progressives, lead the Opposition.

The outlook for the present is peaceful. The tariff question has for the moment receded into the background; and though, before the Election, the Progressives' programme stated that Free Trade was their ultimate goal, the matter was dropped as soon as it came to a discussion in Parliament. Meanwhile Prohibition has made great strides in the country;[1] and under the administration of such men as Sir Lomer Gouin (Justice), Mr. Fielding (Finance), Mr. Graham (Defence) and Mr. Stewart (Interior), the country seems likely to settle down into an era of ever-increasing prosperity.

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[1] In Quebec, Manitoba and British Columbia drink is now under Government control; all the other Provinces are, for the present, "dry."

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF CANADA SINCE 1867.

	Date of Assumption of Office.
Viscount Monck	July 1, 1867
Sir John Young (Lord Lisgar)	Feb. 2, 1869
Earl of Dufferin (Marquess of Dufferin and Ava)	June 25, 1872
Marquess of Lorne	Nov. 25, 1878
Marquess of Lansdowne	Oct. 23, 1883
Lord Stanley of Preston (Earl of Derby)	June 11, 1888
Earl of Aberdeen	Sept. 18, 1893
Earl of Minto	Nov. 12, 1898
Earl Grey	Dec. 10, 1904
Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn	Oct. 13, 1911
Duke of Devonshire, P.C., K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.	Nov. 11, 1916
General Lord Byng of Vimy, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.	Aug. 2, 1921

B. ECONOMICS

XXVI

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS SINCE 1867

At the time of Confederation (1867)—*v.* pp. 110–118—the economic condition of the country was rather stagnant. As this happened to coincide with the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, while a previous period of prosperity had developed with its negotiation, the virtues of that celebrated pact came to be considerably overrated in the popular estimation of the Canadians. For upwards of a generation this led to numerous pilgrimages to Washington on the part of Canadian politicians of every political persuasion, in the vain hope of reviving the Treaty. Moreover, it induced a highly artificial conviction on both sides of the international boundary that Canada was essentially dependent upon the United States for her economic existence. This in turn fostered the idea that the manifest destiny of Canada led to a commercial and probably political union with the American Republic. Fortunately the very anxiety of Canadians on the subject of the free admission of their products to the American markets rendered the Americans indifferent to any closer relations, economic or political, with the Dominion. Hence Canadian overtures, even when favourably regarded by the Executive Government, were coldly disposed of by Congress. In the end, however, under a combination of influences, chief of which were a growing protest against the increasing cost of living in the United States and the suspicion that it was due to the selfish greed of monopolising and highly protected domestic interests, the people of the Northern States, at least, became more interested in Canadian supplies and were thus prepared to deal more generously with Canadian imports. But a new generation of Canadians has recently discovered, as we shall see, that their prosperity was no longer dependent upon the special favour of the United States. Thus the popular Canadian mind, actuated in turn by the same primitive suspicion as the Americans of an earlier day towards outsiders making overtures, rejected the reciprocity agreement negotiated by the Canadian Government in 1911. The long dominant reciprocity spell was broken.

Reverting to the period immediately following Confederation, we find that a considerable revival in Canadian trade took place. This was greatly heightened by the outbreak and duration of the Franco-Prussian War, and until the middle of 1874 there was an excellent foreign market for Canadian produce of all kinds.

During the year 1874 a world-wide trade reaction began which of course involved Canada, and for the remainder of the decade the country passed through a discouraging depression. The depression of the later seventies, though world-wide, was held, politically, to have affected Canada only, or at least mainly, and the party in power, which happened to be the Liberals, was driven from office in response to a promised National Policy of protection and prosperity on the part of the Opposition. Material improvement succeeded within a year and obviously justified the change. This wave of reviving trade culminated in 1883, reacting to the lowest point in 1886. The usual recovery was however lacking, and trade dragged along in a very stagnant condition for the next ten years. On the return of the Liberals in 1896, the Government hit upon an ingenious device to save its face, as regards its tariff pledges, while at the same time avoiding concession to American imports. After a careful readjustment of tariff rates to suit their plans, there was boldly proclaimed a general reduction of 12½ per cent. on all but a few articles, such as tobacco and spirits, applicable to the imports of all countries which admitted Canadian goods at equally favourable rates. When however the practical effect of this apparently sweeping reduction came to be worked out, it was found that it applied virtually to imports from Britain alone.

Having gone through the form of making a general reduction in the tariff, during the following year the reduction was increased to 25 per cent., but specifically limited to the British Empire, though still in practice applicable to little beyond the imports from Great Britain. The renowned "British Preference" was thus the result of no negotiation or bargaining with the Mother-country, but simply the outcome of an election pledge, given primarily for the benefit of Canadian consumers. At the same time it neatly reversed the traditional attitudes of the two Canadian parties towards the Mother-country. The

Conservative opponents of a tariff reduction involved in the British preference had always posed as the exclusive guardians of Imperial sentiment and devotion to the Mother-country. Now they found themselves forced adversely to criticise a generous treatment of Great Britain by the party whose loyalty and zeal in the Imperial cause they had invariably affected to doubt. Finding the rôle of sustained opposition to the British preference difficult to maintain, the Opposition afterwards changed its ground and criticised the Government for neglect of Canadian interests in not exacting some Imperial preference in return. Opposition to the preference in any shape, however, was found still more difficult to maintain when a brief experience of its effects made it apparent, first, that instead of proving injurious to Canadian trade and industry the beginning of a new era of prosperity dated from its adoption, and, secondly, that instead of British goods flooding the Canadian markets the relative proportion of British imports in the increasing foreign trade of Canada continued to decline after the adoption of the preference, and even after its increase first to 25 per cent. and afterwards to 33⅓ per cent.

Thus in the period from 1896 to 1903, when Canadian imports had more than doubled, the percentage of increase in British goods was only 78, while the percentages of ten other of the most important countries were all over 100, the increase of American imports being 135 per cent. In point of fact, ever since 1883 the quantity of British goods imported into Canada, while steadily increasing in amount, as steadily diminished in relative proportion to the imports from other countries, and especially from the United States. In that year the proportion of imports from Great Britain was 42 per cent. of the whole. In the course of the succeeding decades it had fallen to 35 per cent. in 1893, to 25 per cent. in 1903, and to 20 per cent. in 1913, while the latest returns since the close of the war indicate a still further fall to about 12 per cent. From this latter, however, we may reasonably expect a considerable recovery.

The explanation of this peculiar phenomenon is a very old one. British manufactured goods which at all answer Canadian requirements are so superior in quality to all others, while the rates at which they are offered are so favourable and their transportation so convenient and certain, that the Canadian market has always taken the fullest possible supply of them, regardless of tariff rates. No tariff reduction, therefore, is likely materially to increase the quantities taken, with the possible exception of textiles. The chief conditions limiting Canadian purchases in Britain are partly the lack of raw materials for Canadian industries, but above all the persistent indifference of British manufacturers in many lines towards Canadian tastes and requirements. Among specific articles may be mentioned boots and shoes, certain types of tools and machinery, of household fittings, vehicles, etc. It is not the intrinsic quality of these that is lacking, but the pattern, lightness, and general style which limit their sale alongside goods of considerably lower quality and durability but otherwise acceptable. A Sheffield knife, for instance, will be preferred to all others, while a Sheffield axe no Canadian or American could be induced to use, be its quality ever so superior, since its shape is impossible.

Owing to the fact that nearly all Canadian imports from Great Britain are manufactured goods, they are subject to customs duties. On the other hand, owing to the proximity of the United States and the fact that their large area and varied climate afford a wide range of raw materials of which Canada has urgent need, much of the total import from the United States is either free of duty or subject to very low rates. As a result, even with a substantial preference in favour of Britain, or in favour of British goods, the imports from Britain contribute a considerably larger percentage of import duties than do those from the United States. In 1903, 25 per cent. of Canadian imports came from Great Britain and the duty on them contributed 26½ per cent. of the tariff revenue. On the other hand, about 59 per cent. of the total imports came from the United States, but they contributed only 46 per cent. of the tariff revenue. Incidentally it may be observed that at that time 84 per cent. of all Canadian imports came from Britain and the United States, leaving only 16 per cent. to be obtained from all the world beside, both within and without the British Empire. Much the same relative trade conditions prevailed between 1903 and the outbreak of the Great War.

Canada sent altogether about a half-million of men overseas in one capacity and another connected with the war. These she had to equip, arm, transport and maintain abroad and constantly supply with munitions. This meant an immense addition to her exports, independently of supplies furnished to Britain and the Allies. For obvious reasons a minimum of trade imports came from overseas. These had to be procured nearer home, as also much of the raw material and many finished articles for the equipment and maintenance of the forces at the front. Naturally these came from Canada's immediate neighbour, the United States. The United States thus enjoyed almost a monopoly of Canada's foreign import trade during the war, while the Canadian exports were sent largely overseas.

These features are reflected in the trade returns of the period. At the beginning of the war the proportion of Canadian imports from Great Britain was 21 per cent. in 1914, falling to 20 per cent. in 1915, 15½ in 1916, and 13 in 1917. The percentage of imports from the United States in 1914 was 64 ; in 1915, 64¾ ; 1916, 70 ; 1917, 78. At that time only 9 per cent. of Canadian imports came from the rest of the world beyond Britain and the United States. On the other hand, Canadian exports to the United States correspondingly declined, being 44 per cent. in 1915, 28 in 1916, and 24¼ in 1917. At the same time the percentage of exports to Great Britain rose from 44½ in 1915 to 60 in 1916, and 64¾ in 1917. The remainder of the exports, between 11 and 12 per cent., went almost entirely to the other Allies, especially France and Italy.

Since the close of the war there has been only a partial reversion to pre-war conditions. The financial state of Continental Europe and high ocean-freight rates, now borne by trade and not by war appropriations, and the exceptional exchange relations between Canada and her two largest customers, have tended to prevent the return of trade to normal conditions, although, as we shall see, much less in Canada than in other countries. Of Canadian imports 87 per cent. still come from Great Britain and the United States, but the proportion from Great Britain has continued to fall. Taking the returns of the fiscal year ending March 31, 1920, it is found that the percentage of imports from Great Britain was only 11·8, while that from the United States was 75·3. On the other hand, Canadian exports to the two countries had reverted to the same proportion for each, namely, 40 per cent., a condition exactly paralleled in 1915 when the percentage for each was 44. Even in 1920, therefore, Canadian trade with the world, apart from Great Britain and the United States, amounted to only 13 per cent. of her imports and 20 per cent. of her exports. Even this modest proportion of Canadian trade with the world at large is chiefly connected with the most stable countries and those least injured by the war. Taking the average returns for the last three years, it is found that, apart from the trade with Britain and the United States, nearly one-third of the remainder came from within the British Empire, while somewhat over one-third of the exports were taken within the Empire. Another one-third of the imports came from South America and the foreign West Indies. One-fourth of both imports and exports were connected with France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Norway and Switzerland. The remaining one-twelfth of the imports came almost entirely from China and Japan. South America, the foreign West Indies, China and Japan took one-ninth of the exports, leaving little more than one-fifth of a total for 1921 of $1,240,000,000 (imports) for the rest of the world. It follows from this that the economic condition of Canada, so far as it is dependent upon her external trade, is practically bound up with that of England and the United States, and outside of this with the soundest parts of the economic world. So far as her international economic relations are concerned, Canada has every reason to congratulate herself on the essential soundness of her position during the period of reconstruction.

XXVII

EXPANSION AND SETTLEMENT

Turning to the internal economic development of the country after Confederation, we find it to be intimately bound up with transportation and immigration. These, in turn, led to the influx of large quantities of new capital, the expenditure of which on public works and private enterprises introduced an exceptional period of prosperity and expansion. This latter development, however, took place only after the turn of the century.

Following the somewhat belated but all the more enthusiastic outburst of railroad-building in the fifties, there was a severe reaction in the decade from 1857 to 1867. The prosperity which accompanied the expenditure of many millions of British capital in railroad-building was not continued as the result of the new transportation facilities, while the interest on the capital invested was a heavy burden on shrinking provincial and municipal finances, not to mention private funds. New hopes, however, were inspired by the Confederation of the three Provinces in 1867, completed by the addition of the Hudson Bay territories in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. The most important conditions attached to complete Confederation involved the construction of thousands of miles of new railways. British Columbia agreed to enter Confederation only on condition of the construction of a railway connecting it with Eastern Canada. The building of the Intercolonial Railway was a condition of the original Confederation in 1867, and Prince Edward Island was promised a local railway service. The latter was opened in 1875, and the following year the Intercolonial was completed to Halifax, connecting with the Grand Trunk Railway at Quebec, and thus affording a continuous railway service between Halifax via Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton and London to the western border of Ontario. Through St. John in New Brunswick, Montreal in Quebec, Hamilton and London in Ontario, connections were made with the American railroad systems.

The greatest task of all, however, was the construction of a railroad from Ontario to the Pacific coast in British Columbia. The decade from 1871 to 1881 was absorbed in hedging, bargaining, exploring and surveying routes, and otherwise procrastinating, to the accompaniment of an irritating clamour on the part of British Columbia for the fulfilment of Confederation pledges. During this time, as we have seen, the country was going through a period of severe trade and financial depression after the temporary boom from 1870 to 1874. In 1880, however, with improving financial conditions, a contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was actually signed, and in the spring of 1881 the first sod in this great enterprise was turned. In November 1885 the last spike was driven, and in July of the following year the first through passenger train left Montreal for the Pacific coast.

The Canadian Pacific Railway is now one of the largest economic corporations in the world and its shares are important international securities; but in the days of the construction of the railway and for a decade afterwards its fortunes were hanging in the balance. Seldom has any economic undertaking exhibited a more marvellous combination of individual enterprise, skilful management, resourcefulness, determination and self-sacrifice in person and estate than was manifested by the directing group who undertook to carry through in record time this gigantic undertaking. All subsequent enterprises, railroad or other, which have followed it into that vast territory have had by comparison a much simpler task, the C.P.R. being there in advance to transport their equipment, supplies and labour within comparatively easy access of the working fronts.

In Eastern and earlier Canada, as we have seen, settlement and local development preceded efficient transportation, and the essential economic and social characteristics of the period were conditioned thereby. In Western Canada, on the contrary, transportation facilities of a very advanced type preceded settlement and local development and have equally conditioned the results. By facilitating both import and export there has been developed in the West a highly specialised type of industry, both rural and urban. Thus the western grain-farmer may devote himself, as the majority have done, to the production of wheat alone. This he produces with the aid of the most effective agricultural machinery brought by the railroad from distant factories almost to his door. In the meantime, he and his family and temporary employees live on supplies literally brought from the ends of the earth. When his crop is ready for market it is carried away wholly by the railroad. The typical wheat-farmer of the plains does not retain even the grain necessary to supply his own table with bread or cereals. His flour or bread, his meat, often his milk, his fuel and housing, not to mention his clothing, household furnishings and all the miscellaneous minor necessaries and luxuries of life, are all brought to him by the railroad from mills, factories and markets more or less remote. Thus, while, for lack of transportation, the earlier agricultural settlers in Eastern Canada were the most self-contained and least specialised of all the inhabitants of the country, in the west, under modern conditions, the agricultural settlers are practically the most highly specialised of all Canadian settlers. This contrast, due fundamentally to the introduction of railroad transportation, is heightened no doubt by the fact that the open prairies of the west, while highly favourable to cereal production, furnish a minimum of variety in natural resources, as in building material, fuel, fruit and other essential supplies.

For a few years after the completion of the C.P.R. the newly opened territory experienced a brief boom. The rich alluvial plains of Portage La Prairie, Brandon and Regina attracted many farmers' sons from the northern counties of Ontario, especially Huron, Bruce and Grey, while the ranching country of Southern Alberta was the Mecca of many young Englishmen fond of riding and hunting, though not always of a thrifty disposition or skilled in economic management. Many of the latter enjoyed periodic subsidies from well-to-do relatives in Britain, hence they lived well if not wisely, in spite of their lack of certain economic qualities. In the early days they added much to the gaiety of such centres as Calgary, High River, McLeod and Pincher Creek, and under the sobriquet of "remittance men" diffused a sporting atmosphere and the English accent throughout Southern Alberta.

A cycle of dry seasons extending from 1888 to 1895 not only discouraged further settlement but led to a considerable exodus. Merchants, speculators, large ranchers, the C.P.R. itself, saw their investments dwindling in value. The individual settlers obtained but scanty returns for their labour. Discouraging prices prevailed for even limited harvest, or for cattle and horses, especially the latter, thousands of which were offered at from $10 to $15 per head. From 1896, however, the tide began to turn. The rains descended copiously, the streams ran again, the dry lake-bottoms were gradually refilled. There were pasture and water for cattle and abundant harvests of grain. The discovery of gold in the Klondike furnished an eager market for many lines of food supplies, and especially for lower-grade pack-horses, which perished by the thousand in taking the army of miners and their supplies over the mountain passes on the way to Dawson.

A change of Government had coincided with a change of nature to a more kindly mood, much to the benefit of the new administration. The general revival of trade encouraged a more vigorous immigration policy, and for fifteen years, from 1898 to 1913, the whole of Canada, especially the western portion of it, prospered as never before for so long a period.

Once the trade and industry of the country began to revive and immigrants to flock in once more, the speculative element began to discount the future with increasing ardour. For years to follow there were few to say them nay, for the facts were plainly with them. An expansion of the railroad system was necessary to open up the new fields for settlement, permitting access to free or very cheap lands, many of them of exceptionally high quality. The Canadian Northern Railway system had obtained a firm foothold in the north-west by contracts with the Manitoba Government. After a bitter, but in the end successful, attack upon the monopoly privileges of the C.P.R., it began to extend its system into the newer west, taking a more northerly route than its great rival. It opened up much excellent land, the western portions being under more favourable climatic conditions for regular crops owing to a more certain supply of moisture. The C.P.R. was not idle, of course. It undertook the construction of branch-lines which became more numerous and extensive as the rapidly increasing development of the country seemed to justify. Finally about 1904 the Grand Trunk Railway, which, notwithstanding its highly favourable location in Eastern Canada, had no western connections, realised that it was being deprived of its due share in the great traffic possibilities of the west.

It accordingly approached the Dominion Government. After the discussion of several proposals of a more modest and strictly railroad character, it finally entered into arrangements with the Government for the joint construction of an all-Canadian line from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The eastern section, from Winnipeg to the Maritime Provinces, connecting with the Intercolonial at Moncton, N.B., was to be constructed by the Dominion Government, while the section from Winnipeg to the Pacific coast at Prince Rupert would be constructed by the Grand Trunk Pacific, as a subsidiary corporation of the Grand Trunk Railway heavily subsidised by the Dominion Government. The Government section from Winnipeg east, known as "The Transcontinental," was to be leased and operated by the Grand Trunk Pacific, on the basis of the estimated cost of construction. The actual cost, however, as is usual with engineering estimates, was so enormously greater than the estimates produced that the Grand Trunk Railway easily escaped fulfilment of its portion of the contract.

The greater part of the new railway construction was undertaken and carried through in the decade between 1905 and 1915. During that period the total Canadian railway mileage was increased from 20,487 to 35,582. In other words, 42½ per cent. of the total mileage in operation at the beginning of 1915 was constructed during the previous ten years, and, leaving out of account the land grants of the various Governments and the extensive guaranteeing of railway bonds, there was altogether a direct expenditure of about $900,000,000 during this period. This alone was bound to ensure a period of exceptional prosperity throughout the whole of the country. It afforded very extensive employment for labour, immense demands for food, raw materials, manufactured articles and general equipment, domestic and foreign.

The secondary consequences of this expenditure were equally important. The new territory being opened up under railroad construction and the influx of settlers attracted not only thousands of workmen and immigrants but speculators, individual and corporate, in farm lands. The necessity for distributing-centres along the new lines and the opportunities for catering to a multitude of new-comers led to the establishment of many town sites and the introduction of many tradesmen and mechanics. As already indicated, the materials for construction of buildings of every kind on the western prairies have to be brought over considerable distances. The same is true practically of all other urban and even rural supplies. The mechanics and labourers themselves required housing accommodation and personal supplies. Obviously, a village or town just large enough to meet the permanent needs of an agricultural settlement would be inadequate to accommodate the requirements of the large body of temporary residents and merchants for the building of the town and the houses and other structures of the settlers in the neighbourhood. Moreover, practically all of the earlier residents of every townsite invested in town-lots, at once for their own accommodation and for the sure profits from sales to later comers. Where all interests were for the time running on the same lines, it was not difficult for the inhabitants of every village or town to persuade themselves that, with sufficient enterprise, their urban centre could be developed from a local to a district commercial distributing-centre. Thus where every second village harboured the enthusiastic hope of becoming a large town, or even a city, civic expenditures were recklessly incurred with that object in view. Hence, to the indispensable civic requirements of drainage, water-supply, sidewalks, and street improvements for a few blocks in the centre of the infant town, there were added most ambitious schemes for lighting, grading and even paving of streets for the accommodation of a population many times in volume the utmost requirements of a permanent distributing-centre for years to come. With every new loan, however, to meet the anticipated public requirements of a rapidly growing centre, the population was increased and profitably supported, the business being done continued to expand, while the values of property advanced by leaps and bounds. All this prosperity and expansion furnished the most conclusive concrete demonstration of just what had been predicted. In a word, a very large number of new western towns lived for years on the expenditure involved in their own construction, practically all of this being borrowed capital.

Many of the settlers who came into the country brought with them considerable capital and other resources. This was particularly true of those from the adjoining States who had sold to advantage their former homesteads, inadequate to the requirements of increasing families, and with the proceeds were able to furnish each of several sons with a farm as large and soon to be as fruitful as the original homestead disposed of. Many of the urban merchants and land-dealers also brought considerable capital and were soon able to borrow more from Eastern Canada or from foreign sources, chiefly British and American. Necessarily, enormous quantities of supplies were required to cover the vacant plains of the west with farm-buildings, however modest, and an equipment of agricultural implements, usually anything but modest, as also with hundreds of villages and towns, practically every item of which had to be brought considerable distances. There was also the expansion of quite a number of older towns into cities of unlimited ambitions, equipped with miles of the most expensive public utilities outstripping even the building requirements. All of this necessarily involved the borrowing of hundreds of millions of foreign capital. The furnishing of such enormous quantities of supplies afforded a rapidly expanding and apparently unlimited market for the products of Eastern Canadian industries, in addition to the activities of eastern merchants, bankers, trust and loan companies and agencies of all kinds. Thus the towns and cities of the older Canadian Provinces underwent a somewhat similar expansion to those of the west, accompanied by a good deal of speculative activity. Needless to say both in the east and west the transportation involved in such extensive operations extending over such vast areas greatly enriched the existing railway and shipping companies, and as the main system of the Canadian Pacific Railway already covered the whole area from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with lines of ships on both oceans, it experienced a remarkable increase in business, not the least of which was due to the construction of the two rival systems, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, which were later to divide with it the transcontinental traffic.

The actual magnitude of the immigration and its relation to the expansion of the country may be gathered from a few fundamental facts. During the thirty years between Confederation in 1867 and the turn of the tide towards prosperity in 1896 the total number of immigrants arriving in Canada amounted to 1,498,867; of whom 477,066, or nearly one-third, arrived during the construction of the C.P.R. between 1881 and 1885. The annual immigration had fallen to about 16,800 in 1896 and had increased to only 67,300 in 1902. Then the fruits of the new policy began to mature. In the twelve years from 1903 to 1914 inclusive no less than 2,789,494 immigrants came to Canada. The culminating year was 1913, when 402,432 arrived. Of the total immigration between 1903 and 1914 nearly double the number came from Great Britain as compared with the United States—1,870,283 from Great Britain and 954,284 from the United States. There came from all other countries 747,927, most of them from the Continent of Europe, chiefly from Austria and Southern Russia.

It is difficult to say with any exactness how many of the total number of immigrants coming to Canada with the professed intention of settling there subsequently passed on to the United States or returned to Europe. It is known that quite a number of those coming from Britain, finding it difficult to accommodate themselves to the new conditions in Western Canada, returned to Britain. Many native Canadians, especially from Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, passed over to the United States on finding opportunities for considerably bettering their economic condition.

According to the last census of Canada taken in 1911, the number of immigrants arriving between 1901 and 1910 numbered 1,379,947. The total increase of population in that decade, as revealed by the census, amounted to 1,835,828, which would leave slightly less than a half-million to represent the native increase in population during the decade. Although this was in harmony with the native increase as revealed by the census returns of the three previous decades, yet there is reason to believe that there was a much less extensive emigration of Canadians to the United States than during the previous periods. Hence we must conclude that a considerable element of the immigration from 1901 to 1910 passed on to the United States or returned to Europe. Incidentally the census of 1911 revealed the fact that there had been a very considerable reduction in the rural population of Eastern Canada, especially in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. Many from these sections had passed to Western Canada, the larger number of them locating in urban centres. Taking the country as a whole, there was a remarkable increase in urban as compared with rural population.

That there was certain to be a heavy reaction, especially in the urban centres of the west, was inevitable. It was too early in point of opportunity, and too expensive in point of cost of labour and supplies, to develop manufacturing industries which could hope to compete with those of Eastern Canada or foreign countries. On the other hand, settlement must greatly increase before the commercial requirements of the Western Provinces could permanently support the urban equipment so rapidly built up. So much of the urban inflation of the west was living upon itself, in other words on the continued influx of foreign capital, and so much of the industrial expansion of the east depended upon the western development, that when in 1913 the supply of foreign capital was curtailed, not only were many smaller enterprises and civic undertakings immediately faced with financial embarrassment, but the still incomplete railroad undertakings were severely handicapped. Then came the sudden outbreak of the Great War, and an infinitely greater calamity immediately absorbed and obliterated the lesser. Soon hundreds of thousands of Canadians were enlisted in the successive contingents being equipped and sent to the front. The demand for equipment and war-supplies soon absorbed and transformed Canadian industries of every kind. Then the demand for labour at home began to compete sharply with the requirements for additional troops to maintain at strength the Canadian forces on the front. Labour and supplies of all kinds connected in any way with the war were insatiably in demand, while wages and prices rose steadily after the first year of war. There was a brief halt immediately after the armistice. Then the upward trend continued until the midsummer of 1920. In sympathy with a world-movement, values were steadily falling towards the close of 1920: but they are now again on the upgrade.

The outlook for the future is necessarily uncertain, but there are several important features connected with its domestic and foreign relations which would indicate that Canada as a whole is not likely to suffer from the process of economic readjustment as severely as most of the other countries.

XXVIII

FINANCE, EXPENDITURE AND BANKING

When the question of Confederation became a matter of serious practical consideration, one of the chief difficulties to be met was that of provincial finance. As we have seen, nearly the whole of the revenue of the independent provinces had been derived from customs duties. If, therefore, as seemed essential to national unity, this source of revenue and the leading excise dues should be taken over by the new Dominion Government, a very great extension of direct taxation appeared to be necessary in order to furnish adequate revenues for the subordinate Provinces. The solution arrived at was undoubtedly the best adapted to the circumstances. The customs revenue and administration were transferred entirely to the Dominion, but out of the revenues of the

Dominion certain definite annual sums, known as " provincial subsidies," were to be paid to the individual Provinces. Fixed amounts were determined for each of the Provinces at the time of Confederation, but they have since been varied from time to time. An extension of the principle had also to be made in the case of the new Provinces admitted to Confederation and the others created from the North-west Territory. In addition to these subsidies from the Dominions, the original Provinces retained their lands, forests, mines and other natural resources, the sale or lease of which has furnished an increasing revenue. Later there developed other sources of revenue, the chief of which were special taxes on public utility corporations, such as railways, telephones, telegraphs, express and insurance companies, banks and loan companies. One of the largest sources of provincial revenue, since the beginning of the century, has been the succession duties. Of recent years taxes on amusements, licences for automobiles, etc., and other provincial fees have added considerably to the revenue.

Until the period of the Great War, taxes on real estate and income were almost entirely left to the municipalities, as the distinctive basis of their revenue. Their income was supplemented, in the cases of education and public charities, by grants from the provincial revenue. Thus, before the war, Canada enjoyed an almost ideal distribution of the sources of taxation as between the municipalities, the Provinces, and the Dominion. For some time previous to that, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia had taxed real estate and income. During the war, however, owing to the urgent need for increased funds, there developed a very general disregard of the long-established boundaries. The Provinces and the Dominion both extended the range of taxation. The Province of Ontario, for instance, added for a time a surtax on the municipal bases of real estate and income. The Dominion Minister of Finance, after much urging, reluctantly adopted, as a war-measure, a federal income tax. The requirements of post-war finance now seem to indicate that this will remain as a permanent source of federal revenue. Already the rates have considerably increased. Among other war-levies the stamp taxes are likely to remain for a considerable time.

In the Provinces of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta the Dominion subsidy constitutes the largest factor in the provincial revenue. In the other Provinces this contribution is exceeded by one or more of the other sources of revenue. In Nova Scotia the largest revenue comes from mines, in British Columbia from forests, while in Ontario the Dominion subsidy is exceeded from two other sources, one, lands, forests and mines, and the other, succession duties.

In the matter of provincial expenditure, apart from the interest on the public debt, education ranks first in all the Provinces except New Brunswick and British Columbia, in both of which the expenditure on public works takes precedence.

In the case of Dominion revenue, both before and since the war, the customs and excise taxes rank far beyond all other sources of income, the special war-taxes being largely in the nature of additions to these. The income from such public services as the post-office and Government railways is included in the general revenue. But, inasmuch as the expenditure connected with the maintenance of these services far outruns the income derived from them, they are really important objects of national expenditure. In the matter of public expenditure the sections of chief importance in the order of their cost are as follows: Interest on the public debt, requiring about one-fourth of the gross revenue, railways and canals, the post-office, subsidies to Provinces, pensions, public works, civil government, collection of customs, militia, agriculture and arts, sinking funds, legislation, Dominion lands.

In 1914 the net debt of Canada amounted to $335,996,000, while at the end of November 1920 it amounted to $2,298,784,000. During the war period, with the aid of increased taxation, the annual revenue enabled the Government to meet the ordinary civil expenditure, while the borrowings were practically all devoted to the prosecution of the war. As a result, the total cost of the war for Canada still remains to be paid. It has also entailed for the future large annual expenditures for interest on the national debt and military pensions, amounting together to about one-third of the total expenditure. While the resources of the country indicate its ability to bear these additional burdens more easily than most of the countries of Europe, yet the greatly increased expenditure will necessarily reduce considerably the amount which would otherwise have been available for the economic development of the country and the amelioration of social life.

Banking

Very successful measures from a financial point of view had been adopted by the United States to utilise the banking system of the country in support of the national debt incurred during the Civil War. The central features of this policy were the establishment of a system of individual national banks with a uniform paper currency which should circulate at par throughout the union. These objects were secured by the simple device of requiring every bank to purchase and deposit with the Federal Treasury national securities of the United States to the extent of the notes which they desired to issue. On the deposit of the securities the notes were delivered to the banks to be put in circulation in the usual manner. From the point of view of efficient and economic banking the system had several important defects soon discovered but only lately more or less remedied. As a financial measure, however, it was eminently successful.

Canada had not then been involved in a war, but had been engaged in railroad-building and the construction of other expensive public works, and, just before Confederation, was in financial straits. It was advocated by many, therefore, that Canada should follow the example of the United States. The Government would thus obtain a more extended market for its securities and would furnish the country with a paper currency which would be of universal acceptance at par throughout the Dominion. Under the existing system the issues of most of the banks were at a discount, beyond the immediate range of their business. Under the arrangement made with the Bank of Montreal before Confederation, it had agreed to give up its own note issues and to become the agent of the Government in the circulation of provincial notes, which were expected gradually to supplant the note issues of all the other banks. As this gave the Bank of Montreal not only a commission on the Government note issue, whether held by its own or other banks, but a virtual monopoly of all the financial operations of the Government, including the custody of the Government deposits, it was a very profitable arrangement for that institution. In the latter part of 1867, shortly after the consummation of Confederation, Mr. E. H. King, President of the Bank of Montreal and a personage of great financial influence in the country, came out strongly for the adoption of the American system, even to the establishment of independent local banks. In this he was supported by the Canadian executive of the Bank of British North America and the Finance Minister of the Dominion. When fully matured, the plan was laid before Parliament in 1869 as the basis for a Dominion system of banking to take effect in 1870, when, as previously arranged, the individual charters of practically all the Canadian banks would terminate. In addition to the banks already mentioned, the others which favoured the plan were those of New Brunswick and South-western Nova Scotia. The banks of Western Canada, however, those centring in Halifax and Quebec, with some of the Montreal banks, were strongly opposed to it as depriving them of their note issue, which was still an important source of income and the basis of their local discounting. Moreover, from the essential nature of their business these banks were subject to great seasonal variations in the demand for currency for the movement of the crops and the support of the lumber industry, as well as the financing of the spring and autumn importations. From this point of view one of the most serious defects in the American system, whether as applying to the United States or Canada, was the rigidity of the note issue. If the banks invested large sums in national securities in order to supply the note issue required for the peak load of circulation at the busiest seasons of the year, they necessarily found themselves with a large amount of comparatively dead capital on their hands during the remainder of the year. These idle funds at low rates presented a temptation to speculative dealings, which frequently proved a menace to the more stable business of the country.

Under the Canadian system, however, the note issue, being limited only by the paid-up capital of the individual banks, might be expanded to meet special requirements without material cost, and contracted again as circumstances determined without corresponding loss on invested capital. This bank circulation was subject, of course, to speculative movements from without, but did not specially invite them from within. The great advantages of the branch bank system, in an expanding country such as Canada, was also a feature in the debate between the rival systems. In the end, the more widespread political influence of the opponents of the American system gave pause to the Government in the advocacy of the measure which it had introduced.

In 1869 Sir Francis Hincks, a former premier and minister of finance, opportunely returning to Canada, was persuaded to assume the troublesome portfolio of Finance, and managed to effect a working compromise between the rival policies. By means of wise measures he limited the Dominion currency, making its notes acceptable to the banks by being made a general legal tender for all parties except the Government treasury, and thus available as bank reserves and in meeting clearing-house balances. He also succeeded in promoting a small number of large banks with numerous branches, rather than a large number of small banks with few branches. Finally, instead of the previous system of individually chartered banks under separate Acts and with varying conditions, there was introduced in 1870 and perfected in 1871 a general Bank Act for the whole Dominion, laying down the conditions to be complied with by all the banks of the country. This has been renewed and amended approximately every ten years down to the present time. Accompanying the first general Bank Act was also a Dominion Note Act, which determined the conditions and limitations under which the legal-tender note issues of the Government were authorised.

At the revision of 1890, of which the main feature was that, after much argument in the banking world, the Minister of Finance was induced to forgo a fixed reserve, the Canadian banking system was greatly improved in many details, including the broadening of the field of operation for the banks, especially in the way of assisting not only the commerce but the manufacturing industry of the country.

An important outcome of the intimate co-operation between the chiefs of the various banks, in dealing with the proposed amendments in 1890, was the formation of the Canadian Bankers' Association. It was established in 1892 and incorporated in 1900 in order that it might be employed under the Bank Act in the administration of important details, as in taking supervision of the clearing-house system, the issue and destruction of bank-notes, and the supervision of the liquidation of insolvent banks. In these respects its services have been eminently satisfactory. Its influence, however, has been even more salutary in the formation and diffusion of sound principles of practical banking. The Association has decidedly elevated the general standard of Canadian Banking and promoted a general co-operation and mutual assistance among the banks. It has also greatly assisted national financing, as has been so fully demonstrated during the critical periods of the Great War.

Since the beginning of the Great War the redemption of the Dominion notes in gold has been suspended. As they still remain full legal tender, the whole currency of the country has since been on the basis of an inconvertible Government paper note issue. This has permitted the development of an adverse balance of exchange, and, as Canadian trade and financial relations with the United States give little immediate prospect of exchange with that country falling to par, the prospect of a resumption of specie payment in Canada is correspondingly remote.

XXIX

PRESENT ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POSITION

Probably the most important question connected with the economic situation and outlook of any nation to-day is, how does it stand related to the economic consequences of the Great War? Some countries, especially those immediately responsible for the war, are still in a most unfortunate condition, while others, fated to have been more or less deeply involved in its operations, are only slowly recovering from its disastrous consequences. Still others are injured largely through their trade having been more or less intimately connected with those which have suffered severely. Most fortunate of all are those countries the greater part of whose foreign trade, whether of imports or exports, is connected with countries having great commercial and financial resources, and which have been least crippled by the war, and therefore capable of the most effective recovery. In these respects Canada is one of the most fortunate countries, since over 80 per cent. of its exports and about 85 per cent. of its imports are directly connected with the two most stable and resourceful countries in the world, Great Britain and the United States. Even the remaining 15 or 20 per cent. of its trade is connected with some of the outlying countries the least injured by the war, or most able to take advantage of the earliest recoveries from it. These are such as the following: the British Dominions of Australia and New Zealand, the East and West Indies, and foreign countries such as Japan, Cuba and various South American States. Of the countries directly involved in the war or most directly affected by it, France, Belgium and Holland are the only ones with which Canada had any considerable trade before the war. The very modest trade conducted directly with Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia and the Eastern European States was, with the first three, chiefly a trade in manufactured imports very readily obtained elsewhere, while the other imports, chiefly sugar and chemicals, have also been obtained without much difficulty. Only indirectly, therefore, in so far as the trade of Great Britain and the United States has been injuriously affected as a result of the war, has Canadian trade suffered appreciably from it.

These facts are of very great significance not only for the present situation of Canada, but particularly for its industrial and commercial future. A brief survey of Canadian trade returns will bring out these features in concrete form, while serving also to indicate the nature and directions of Canadian trade and industry. The expansion of the trade and population of Canada in the decade before the war had been much the greatest which the country had ever experienced. This was largely due to the enormous extension of public works, especially railroads, and the phenomenal growth of the cities and towns of Western Canada. Many of the towns were previously non-existent and most of the cities barely beyond the stage of towns or villages. The investment of large amounts of borrowed capital induced a great flow of immigration. The population of the country increased in the census period of 1901–11 by 1,835,000, an increase of 34 per cent., exceeding by 150,000 the total increase of population in the previous thirty years. During the three years from 1911 to 1913 there was a further increase through immigration of over 1,000,000 persons, or twice as many as the total increase of population for the next eight years.

During the pre-war decade the trade of the country increased 132 per cent., imports representing 187 per cent. and exports 80 per cent. As to the direction of this trade, we find that for the fiscal year ending March 31 the percentage of Canada exports to Great Britain amounted to 51 in 1912, 47·75 in 1913 and 50 in 1914. The percentage of exports to the United States during the same years was 42 in 1912, 39·25 in 1913 and 37·75 in 1914. The percentage of the total exports from Canada which went to these two countries amounted to 93 in 1912, 87 in 1913 and 87·75 in 1914, and this under the most normal conditions of recent times.

Taking similar returns for the first three years of the war, we find that the percentage of exports to Great Britain rose from 44·5 in 1915 to 60 in 1916 and 64·75 in 1917, while to the United States they declined for the same three years from 64·75 through 28 to 24·25. Taking the two countries together, however, the exports to both absorbed 88·5 per cent. in 1915 and 88 per cent. for each of the two succeeding years. Similarly, in the matter of exports for these years, from Great Britain the percentage declined from 20 in 1915 through 15·5 in 1916 to 13 in 1917, while from the United States the imports increased from 64·75 in 1915 through 72 in 1916 to 73 in 1917. But the total percentage from both countries amounted to 84·75 in 1915, to 87·5 in 1916 and 91 in 1917. These percentages of our foreign trade for three years previous to war conditions and for three years during war conditions establish very clearly that, while there was a very considerable shifting of exports from the United States to Great Britain and of imports from Great Britain to the United States, yet the total Canadian trade with these two countries remained singularly stable, and that what trade was lost with certain other countries as a result of the war was to a large extent transferred to these two countries.

Taking a still longer view of Canadian foreign trade, we find that a bird's-eye view of its development for the last thirty years shows that there has been a fairly steady tendency to take an increasing proportion of our imports from the two countries Great Britain and the United States, while in the matter of exports there has been a stronger tendency to find a wider market for them. These, among other tendencies, are illustrated in the following table, which sets forth the development of Canadian trade by decades from 1892 to 1922, taking the fiscal year ending on March 31. The imports are only those for home consumption and the exports only those of Canadian produce. The returns are given in millions and their decimals.

IMPORTS

Year.	Dutiable.	Free.	Total.	From Great Britain.		From United States.		From Great Britain and U.S.A.	From Other Countries.	
				Amount.	Percentage	Amount.	Percentage.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage
	$	$	$	$		$			$	
1892	69·16	46	115·16	41	30·6	51·7	45	80·6	22·3	19·4
1902	118·6	78	196·7	49	24·9	115	58·4	83·4	32·7	16·6
1912	335·3	187·1	522·4	116·9	22·3	331·3	63·4	85·8	74·1	14·18
1922	490·6	252·1	742·8	117·1	15·6	515·9	69	84·7	114·8	15·3

EXPORTS

Year.	Total.	To Great Britain.		To United States.		To Great Britain and U.S.	To Other Countries.	
		Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.
	$	$		$			$	
1892	95	54·95	57	31·3	33	90	9·4	9·9
1902	196	109·3	56	96·5	34	90	20·1	10·2
1912	290·2	147·2	50·4	102	35	85·4	40·9	14·5
1922	740·2	299·3	40·4	292·5	39·5	80	148·4	20

It will be observed from these tables, also, that there is a gradual falling-off in the percentage of imports from Great Britain. This was greatly emphasised during the war by reason of lack of supplies, increase in prices, lack of shipping and increase in rates of freight and insurance. Nevertheless the general tendency is not peculiar to the war period, but has been strongly marked for a very considerable time before the war. During the war the percentage of British imports fell as low as 7·9 during the last year of it. Since then there has been a recovery to 15·6 as shown in the table, and in the first seven months of the fiscal year 1922–23 the percentage increased to 18. The fundamental reason for this general decline in the percentage of British imports is that the great majority of the imports from Great Britain are manufactured articles for direct consumption, and not, as from the United States and other countries, largely raw materials or partially manufactured goods entering into ultimate domestic manufactures for consumption. Thus, of the imports from Great Britain in the year 1921–22, $95 millions were dutiable goods and only $20 millions (or less than 19 per cent.) free goods. In the imports from the United States for the same year $313 millions were dutiable and $203·8 millions (or nearly 40 per cent. of the whole) were free. But the duty on a good part of the 60 per cent. of dutiable goods is quite light, many of them being semi-raw materials, while the duty on 81 per cent. of the British imports would be quite heavy, even under the preferential tariff.

Noting the trend of imports from other countries, we observe that while, as in the case of Great Britain, the total value steadily increases, the percentage steadily diminishes, except for the last year 1922. But in that year practically one-third of the whole of the imports from other countries was in the line of sugar and molasses alone. On the other hand, the great increase in imports, alike as to total value and percentage, is from the United States alone. There the value has increased tenfold within the last thirty years, and the percentage of the total imports from 45 to 69. This is due to a few fundamental facts which may be summarised as follows: the close proximity of American products to Canadian markets, with the consequent advantage in freights; the vast supplies of essential raw materials and semi-manufactured goods for Canadian industries, transportation facilities being again all-important; and, finally, the similarity between the people of Canada and the United States in their tastes and standards as to manufactured goods.

As to the comparative importance of the various lines of Canadian exports, taken as a whole, if we analyse the returns for the last year, 1921–22, trade having practically resumed its normal proportions, we find that the exports to all countries come in the following order of importance, with the percentage in each class of the total exports:

	per cent.
1. Agricultural and vegetable products	42·9
2. Wood and its products, including pulp and paper	24·2
3. Animal products	18·3
4. Iron and its products, including agricultural and other machinery, motors, etc.	3·8
5. Other metals and their products	3·8
6. Non-metallic minerals and products	3·0
7. Miscellaneous products	1·9
8. Chemicals and similar products	1·3
9. Fibres and textiles	0·8

When we look on these groupings a little more in detail we find that the various products of the farm furnish Canada with nearly three-fourths of its exports, and that the greater part of the remainder comes from the mining and lumber camps, leaving the factories with but a small proportion of the exports, except in the case of partially-manufactured raw materials for other industries, such as lumber, pulp and paper, etc. Completely manufactured articles of domestic production are disposed of chiefly within Canada, not beyond it.

Taking a similar survey of Canadian imports as a whole, from the point of view of the same classification, we find them coming in the following order, with the relative percentages of the total:

	per cent.
1. Agricultural and vegetable products, of which at least one-fourth consists of sugar	23·1
2. Fibres and textiles, of which over 40 per cent. consists of cotton and its products	18·9
3. Non-metallic minerals, of which coal represents 59 per cent. and petroleum 25 per cent.	18·5
4. Iron and its products, including large items in raw and slightly manufactured materials, machinery, motors, etc.	14·7
5. Miscellaneous articles, chiefly manufactures, other than the above, in large variety	6·7
6. Animals and their products	6·2
7. Wood and its products, including paper	4·6
8. Metals, except iron, and their products	4·0
9. Chemicals	3·3

Of the imports over one-third are entirely free of duty, while another third pay very light duties as slightly manufactured articles employed in the industries of the country. It follows from the above analysis of trade as it now stands that it is on a very sound basis, with exports exceeding imports and with the greater part of the imports essential to Canadian industry.

When we turn to our financial condition the most anomalous feature connected with its relation to trade is the condition of our foreign exchange. The line of development has been, at first sight, rather puzzling. During the decade which preceded the war Canadian imports regularly exceeded exports —during most of the period to very large amounts each year. Yet during the whole of the period exchange was never against Canada, being, if anything, slightly in its favour. During the period of the war, on the other hand, from 1915 to 1919, Canadian exports very greatly exceeded Canadian imports, sometimes to the extent of over $500 millions a year. Yet during the war exchanges were only prevented from being heavily against the country by special international arrangements. When this support was removed, after the close of the war, exchange with the United States ran heavily against Canada, to the extent at one time of 17 per cent. Only recently has this exchange been brought to par. The explanation of these anomalies is, after all, simple enough. During the period of excessive imports the country was borrowing heavily abroad, alike in connection with extensive public works and private enterprises. These extensive borrowings were being brought to the country not in money, but in goods. During the war, on the other hand, the country was maintaining half a million of its citizens abroad, and furnishing them with food, clothing, pocket-money, munitions and all war-supplies, hospital services, transportation, etc. For none of these did the country receive any financial returns. Its imports, therefore, though greatly below its exports, were not being met either by returns from exports or by permanent borrowings; hence exchange was inevitably against the country. This was further emphasised by greatly increased imports immediately after the close of the war. Recently imports have been cut down, exports increased and borrowings abroad resumed. The exchanges therefore have become normal.

Like Great Britain and the United States, but unlike most of the countries of Europe engaged in the war, Canada increased the taxation of her people during the war, and has greatly increased the taxation since its close. The increased revenue derived therefrom partly offset, during the war, the great increase in the cost of conducting normal civil government, but was not sufficient to meet any part of the war-expenditure. As a result, the cost of the war had to be met from extensive loans, nearly all of which were contributed by the Canadians themselves. At the close of the war, therefore, the country found itself with the whole cost of it still to be paid. This, added to the original debt of the country, amounted to practically two billions of dollars. Doubtless, from the greatly increased taxation levied by the Federal Government, the public debt might at least have been prevented from increasing beyond the amount at the close of the war. Unfortunately, however, expenses connected with the return of the soldiers to civil life, and the consequences of the extravagant pre-war expenditures on public works, especially railroads, made enormous demands upon the national treasury. The quite unnecessary paralleling of transcontinental railroad lines reacted heavily upon them, threatening two at least of the three transcontinental lines with bankruptcy. The Government having encouraged, by charters and extensive subsidies, this extravagant competition, found itself compelled to take over the work of its hands, with the result that not only must it provide the interest on a huge capital investment but also meet the annual operating deficits, running as high as $75 millions a year. This constitutes a serious handicap in the effort to bring the increase in the national debt to a standstill.

The aftermath of the war, especially in the way of pensions and civil re-establishment, amounting to 72·5 millions of dollars, and the interest on the war debt amounting to about 110 millions, together absorb rather more than the total extra war-revenue, amounting in 1921 to 168·3 millions. The three chief sources of increased revenue as the result of the war are, in point of yield:

1. Inland revenue, including stamps of various kinds	$78·8 millions
2. Income tax	46·3 ,,
3. Business profits tax	40·8 ,,
4. Miscellaneous	2·4 ,,

making up the 168·3 millions of extra war-tax. The Customs revenue amounts to 163·3 millions and the Excise taxes to 37·1 millions. The total revenue for 1921 amounted to $436,292,000. This showed a surplus over the ordinary annual expenditure of $57,684,000. But the war and capital expenditures not only absorbed this surplus, but left an increase of

92 millions in the national debt. The increase of the previous year, however, had been 674·3 millions. For the year ending July 1922 the increase in the national debt had been reduced to 34·8 millions, and within the next year it is the object of the Government to bring this increase to an end. Means may then be devised for accomplishing its gradual reduction. Considering the sound basis on which the trade of the country and the economic condition of its citizens now rest, if only the national finances can be placed on an equally sound basis there are few countries in the world which can look forward with brighter prospects to a comparatively rapid recovery from the disastrous consequences of the late war.

As to the population of the country, the returns of the last census, taken in 1921, are now available. It is found that the population in 1921 amounted to 8,780,483, being an increase over the last decade of 1,581,840 or 21·9 per cent. The increase of the previous decade over its predecessor amounted to 1,835,328 or 34·1 per cent. If, however, we take into account the number of immigrants coming into the country between 1901 and 1921, amounting to 2,521,144, according to official returns, this would leave only 896,024 to be accounted for as the natural increase in twenty years. We know, however, from many evidences, though we have not accurate statistics on the subject, that many of these immigrants passed on to other countries, especially the United States, while some of them returned to Europe. Still, the fact remains that the greater part of the exceptional increase in the Canadian population during the last two decades has been due to immigration. This is further borne out when we turn to the sections of the country where the decennial increases have been chiefly located. These are the western Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the manufacturing and commercial cities of the east. Thus the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan have acquired almost the whole of their population within the past twenty years, while British Columbia and Manitoba have also obtained considerably more than half of their present population within that period. The older Provinces of Ontario and Quebec also received large increases in their population during this period, the former to the extent of one-fourth and the latter to the extent of one-third. Yet more than half of the increase of the population of Ontario for these two decades is accounted for in the two manufacturing centres of Toronto and Hamilton, which absorbed a good deal of the immigration during this period. In Quebec nearly half of the provincial increase for the two decades is represented in Montreal and its suburbs. Outside of these cities, in Ontario and Quebec, the increase of the population throughout the Provinces, as also in the remaining Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, has not exceeded, and in most cases has not equalled, the rate of increase between 1871 and 1881, the first census decade after Confederation.

Two notable changes as the result of the shifting of population are emphasised in the latest census returns. One is the decided shifting of the centre of population from Eastern towards Western Canada, and the other the shifting of population from the country to the towns, and especially the larger cities. Thus, of a population of 3,687,257 in Canada in 1871, 3,579,782 were in the provinces east of Lake Superior, only 109,475, or less than 3 per cent. being west of the Lakes. Even in 1901 only 615,517, or less than 11½ per cent. of the population, were west of the Lakes. In 1921, however, 2,492,801, or over 28 per cent. of the population, were west of the Lakes. In 1891 only 31·8 per cent. of the population of Canada was urban, while 68·2 per cent. was rural. But in 1921 49·5 per cent. was urban and 50·5 per cent. rural, while in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, where industries had been developed in the larger cities, the urban population had quite outrun the rural. Thus, in Ontario in 1921, 58·2 per cent. of the population were urban and 41·8 rural, while in Quebec the percentages were 56 and 44 respectively. In the other Provinces the rural population still had the ascendency, but the proportions were steadily declining in most of them. These results are evidently due to the increasing specialisation in the lives of the people, including even the farmers, more particularly the grain-farmers of the west. With the aid of machinery made in the cities, and depending on the cities for most of their other supplies, they cultivate large tracts of land with the minimum of labour and the maximum of machinery. In its net results this means that the urban population, through its contributions in machinery, transportation and general supplies, is largely contributing to the production of farm and other rural produce. Thus the towns and cities are not growing up at the expense of rural production, although physically perhaps the people are losing much in exchanging rural for city life.

NEWFOUNDLAND

A. HISTORY

I

NEWFOUNDLAND TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NEWFOUNDLAND is geographically the tenth largest island in the world; historically the oldest British colony and the only territory in the New World where for a full century, without companions, the English flag flew alone; strategically the sentinel of the St. Lawrence, dominating the great trade-route of the Western Atlantic and capable of being made into a stronghold of enormous value; and politically a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire with the same status—though it has but 270,000 people—as the great Commonwealths of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.[1]

It is an island roughly triangular in shape, lying off the east coast of Canada, stretching about 220 miles in each direction, and with an area of about 42,000 square miles. From St. John's, its most eastern point, to the Irish coast is about 1,640 miles, and it forms a stepping-stone, or more than half-way house, between Europe and America; for most of the shipping which traverses the Atlantic passes within sight of Cape Race, and the harbour of St. John's forms a haven of refuge for many of the vessels that meet with mishap on this voyage.

This island is the only one of Britain's oversea territories peopled entirely by British stock. Canada has its French and its Indians; South Africa its Dutch and its natives; Australia and New Zealand their aborigines; India and the Crown Colonies an immense preponderance of coloured races ruled by a comparatively small ruling class of whites. But Newfoundland has an unadulterated strain of British lineage. The last of its aborigines perished fully one hundred years ago, and over 99 per cent. of its population are of native birth and descended entirely from ancestors who came from England, Ireland and

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[1] Its Prime Minister sat at the Peace Conference and its representative signed the Treaty of Versailles on an equality with those important oversea possessions.

Scotland in days gone by or in more recent time, and who made their home in the remote island to which they were attracted by the wealth of its fisheries.

Fascinating as any romance is the story of the early settlement of Newfoundland and its share in Empire-making. Surprising as it might seem, the nursery of the American nation was the English fishery in Newfoundland; for fully a hundred years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock, Newfoundland was the resort of the West-country fishermen. The English flag, hoisted 327 years ago, has never been lowered, for, despite all vicissitudes of fortune, the English never lost hold of the island, and its annexation was an impetus to the colonisation overseas which has seen the same flag unfurled in every quarter of the globe.

It was discovered by John Cabot in 1497, on his famous expedition from Bristol into the unknown West. All that English documentary history has to tell of this event, which laid the foundations of the overseas Empire of to-day, is the record in the Privy Purse expenses of King Henry VII "to hym who found the New Isle £10," and the fact that, in the wording of a subsequent charter to John Cabot, he is given as the discoverer. It was annexed to England by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583; but during the intervening years it was the resort of fishermen from all the maritime countries of Western Europe, attracted thereto by the report of its ocean-wealth which Cabot had made on his return, and which no doubt sent most of his comrades and others there within very few years after his discovery. For within the half-century following his discovery the previously great trade in fish between Bristol and Iceland declined and the price fell, owing to the competition of barrelled fish from Newfoundland. The result was that the coastfolk of every country of Western Europe hurried there as its fame grew; and, using its seaboard as a centre, garnered a fishing-harvest year after year. That English, French, Biscayans, Basques, Spaniards, Portuguese and, later, even "Turks," or the dreaded "Sallee Rovers," resorted there is proved by the nomenclature of the island up to the present day.

In 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert was returning from his voyage to America, he stopped at St. John's for water and stores. Its fame was already known through Devon and the adjacent counties of England, and his historian says he was received by the English captains then in St. John's and escorted to their summer garden, where he was made welcome. These facts prove that his mariners knew of the port and that he could get succour there; and the record adds that "the English command all here," an evidence of mastery of these seas even in those remote times. He annexed the island for Queen Elizabeth, but English control was not effective until long after that, though it steadily, if slowly, became so.

In those days the colonising of new countries by plantations under Royal charters was in vogue, and in 1610 John Guy, an alderman of Bristol, was granted a charter to found a colony in Newfoundland. This he did, and is believed to have been the first to winter there, at a place in Conception Bay; but his colony was short-lived and fell into disuse. In 1615 Captain Richard Whitbourne, of the West Country, was sent out as Governor, remaining seven years and publishing a treatise on the island which may be described as its first historical record. In 1623 Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, secured a charter to the south-eastern area, the peninsula ending in Cape Race, and established himself at Verulam (now corrupted into Ferryland), midway between Cape Race and St. John's; but, finding the climate too cold, he moved to what is now Maryland and founded the present city of Baltimore. Admiral Kirke followed in 1635 with a better attempt at colonising, for he resided at Ferryland till his death; and gradually authority was asserted more effectively by various agencies, which maintained the connection with the Mother-country and kept the flag flying. A defect of the policy, though, was to discourage permanent settlement in every way; for the great "fishing venturers" wished to prevent the country from being settled and the control of the fisheries from passing from them and their associates in Devonshire and London to Newfoundland itself.

The policy of permanent settlement, however, triumphed. Gradually the attitude of the Mother-country towards the island—at first stern and forbidding—became more kind, and ultimately concessions towards self-government were granted, until to-day Newfoundland enjoys the same measures of autonomous control as the other Dominions. Still, these concessions were not secured without a great struggle, and the point has been made more than once by colonial critics that whilst the Crown was granting a charter to a University (King's College at Windsor) in Nova Scotia, it was a penal offence to plant a potato in Newfoundland; and that although Bermuda was granted some form of Parliament in 1620, and Nova Scotia attained to the dignity of a Legislature in 1763, it was not until 1832 that the same right was conceded to Newfoundland, and not until 1854 that the grant of Responsible Government was made.

Somewhat over four centuries of Newfoundland history may be divided into four periods, embracing about a century each. The first was from 1497 to 1610, when it was merely a resort for the Devonshire fishing venturers, half pirates, half traders. The second was from 1610 to 1711, the era of the "fishing admirals," when permanent settlers were locating on the coast and were being harried by the ship-men, who feared that settlement would mean the loss to them and the West Country of the profits in the fishing-industry. The third was from 1711 to 1825, the period when the policy of permanent settlers was more or less accepted, and the "fishing admirals" were replaced by naval Governors, the Admiral or Commander on the station acting in this capacity. The fourth era was from 1825, when the first resident Governor, Cochrane, was appointed, and what might be called the beginnings of a modern colony were undertaken, down to the present date.

Newfoundland's fisheries have been wonderfully valuable, so much so, indeed, that this "harvest of the ocean," described by Bacon as "more valuable than the famed gold-mines of Peru," has in a sense helped to retard the progress of the island; for all attention has been centred on them to the detriment of the wealth of forest, mineral and farming-land which the country also possesses. Raleigh declared that the Newfoundland trade "was the mainstay and support of the western counties," which were then England's chief maritime centres, and also that "if any misfortune happened to the Newfoundland fishing-fleet, it would be the greatest calamity that could befall England." In Elizabeth's day the Newfoundland fishery employed over 10,000 men and yielded £500,000 a year, a very large sum at a time when the national revenue was not over a million pounds annually.

Five years after Gilbert's annexation came the defeat of the Armada, in which the West-country fishermen who frequented Newfoundland were conspicuous; and following upon that the Spanish flotilla of cod-fishing vessels, some 250 altogether, vanished for all time from the North Atlantic. After this the struggle began between France and England for the control of the vast territories now making up the North American Continent, and for the domination of the seas between, the end of which we all know. To-day the sole remnant of France's once great Empire in North America is the little French archipelago of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the south coast of Newfoundland. It came about in this wise.

France was as keen to secure the fishery wealth of this new region as was England, and had settlers there as early as 1639. In 1662 they established themselves in Placentia Bay and founded the town of Placentia, which resulted in a vigorous agitation, both in the colony and in England, against any French lodgment on the coast of Newfoundland.

In 1692 an English squadron unsuccessfully attacked this place, and four years later d'Iberville marching overland from Placentia captured St. John's and other settlements. Next year Sir John Norris with a fleet and two thousand soldiers was sent out to recover the island and, finding St. John's abandoned by the French, he built forts and restored the town. The Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 left the French in possession of Placentia, where they remained until the Treaty of Utrecht. The English frequently undertook expeditions against Placentia, and the French against St. John's, and these two towns, with more or less the control of the island and the fisheries, often changed hands, according as each succeeded in these "little wars."

By the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 England was confirmed in the possession of Newfoundland, but the French were given the right to fish on portions of the west and north-east coasts and to land and dry their fish on the coasts. By this Treaty Placentia was ceded to England and was first put under the Governor of Nova Scotia, but it was subsequently transferred to the authority in Newfoundland. In the ensuing wars French squadrons continually raided the coast of Newfoundland, and in 1762, nearly fifty years later, St. John's, Carbonear and Trinity were captured by the French, but recaptured the same year by the English under Colonel Amherst. The Treaty of Paris in the following year gave all of North America to England except the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were confirmed to France as a base for their fishery flotillas. In 1783, by the Treaty of Versailles, the French were allowed to fish from Cape John, north to Belle Isle Strait, and then south along the west coast to Cape Ray, and King George III attached a declaration to this treaty providing that the English were not to interrupt the French fishery by their competition.

With the coast becoming more and more settled by English subjects and the French actively prosecuting their industry, clashes between them were inevitable, and hence in the Treaty of Paris of 1815, the last made between England and France about the Newfoundland fishery until 1904, the Treaty of Versailles of 1783 was confirmed and these conditions perpetuated.

As Newfoundland attained the definite status of a colony with more and more liberal measures of self-government, the colonial authorities vigorously protested against these conditions which seriously hampered the progress of the colony, but all efforts at settlement were ineffectual until 1904, when by the Treaty of London France agreed to abandon her claims to any lodgment on the coast of Newfoundland, in return for certain extensions of territory in West Africa, and the compensating of her subjects who had fishing-establishments on its "French shore" of Newfoundland, these being ultimately bought out with the sum of £250,000; so that at last, after nearly 200 years, the island became absolutely British territory, though the French and also the Americans still have a right to fish in certain territorial waters on the south-west, west and north-east coasts.

To return to the sixteenth century: As the Newfoundland venture became more and more a recognised annual pursuit for the English fishermen, they extended their settlements north and west of St. John's; and then came the invention of the "fishing admiral" as an officer of Government. Originally established as a custom by the fishermen for their own convenience, it was incorporated into the Act in the reign of William of Orange, received regular official recognition after that and survives to-day in the "admirals" of the fishing-fleets in the North Sea. The master of the first fishing-vessel arriving in a port each year became admiral for the season; the second, vice-admiral; and the third, rear-admiral. They dealt with all save capital offenders, these having to be sent to England to be tried.

Another survival of these bygone days is the term "planter," as applied to a Newfoundland fisherman of the wealthier class, the grade between the ordinary worker and the merchant. It persists from the time when fishery "plantations" existed on different parts of the coast and when the "planters" operated these stations, as to-day planters and plantations exist in different parts of the world in connection with various products of the soil.

As the fishery became permanent and more profitable, "planters" and merchants found it convenient to leave "winter crews" in the country, to build boats, cut timber for fishery requirements and retain possession of the best localities for the enterprise. With St. John's as a centre they gradually extended, but the merchants of the West-country ports, who equipped many of the vessels and who wanted no competition from permanent settlers, procured from the Stewart monarchs regulations of the Star Chamber discouraging settlement and ultimately appointing naval commanders to enforce ukases for deporting all the settlers. The commander of the time, however, Sir John Berry, was too humane to do so and secured the withdrawal of the orders.

All through the period from 1620 to 1713 there were, omitting the West Indies and Bermuda, only two actual British settlements in North America—Newfoundland and the continental colonies now forming part of the United States. Nova Scotia did not become a British possession until 1713 and Quebec until after Wolfe's victory in 1759, while New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton (now part of Nova Scotia) only passed into English hands still later. Naturally, with Englishmen in Newfoundland and others in what are now known as the "New England" States, with the territory held by the French intervening, trade between these two separated English colonies soon became active. The first New England fleet came to Newfoundland in 1645, bringing farm-stuffs, cattle and rough lumber, and trading them for fish; a generation later woollens, leather and other products were brought, and then "Nantucket" rum, as it came to be known. One can easily see how, following upon the trade between these countries, great numbers of the West-country fishermen were attracted by the finer climate and greater possibilities of the New England centres, and migrated there in large numbers. In those days the laws applying to Newfoundland provided that skippers who brought out English fishermen every spring should take them back again in the fall without charge, but in many instances the skippers, to save feeding the men on the return voyage, connived at their being taken away by the Americans; and, to escape the search of the New England vessels by the English warships, men were enclosed in large casks and smuggled out in this fashion, no fewer than 500 men being taken from Conception Bay alone in one year, so great was this traffic. The men thus smuggled helped in large measure to build up the great fishing and whaling fleets of the New England coast until comparatively recent years. This New England trade grew so that by 1765 it was estimated by Sir Hugh Palliser (a "warship" governor) as worth half a million dollars; and about the beginning of the Revolutionary War it had risen to three times that value.

With the accession of the Hanoverian sovereigns a change for the better came to Newfoundland, and her prosperity increased. The "fishing admirals" were superseded by naval officers who administered quarter-deck law, but did it in the main very well. Admiral Rodney, for instance, whose name is still perpetuated in the Colony by a row-boat called by that name, when requested by the skippers to reduce their servants' wages because of a bad fishery, asked them whether they would have raised the men's wages had the season been good. Captain James Cook, the famous explorer, also figured on this Newfoundland warship service, and surveyed much of the coast.

After the American Revolutionary War complications arose through the granting of fishing rights to the American people, proving conclusively the great importance attached to this cod-fishing industry by more than one nation. However, even until almost modern times the idea that the island was a mere fishing-station prevailed, and the mercantile classes remained always hostile to any improvements which would relieve the fishermen from their condition of virtual thraldom.

Newfoundland suffered as well in those days as did Ireland from the horrors of religious persecution. Many of those permanently settled in the island had migrated there because of penal laws in Ireland, and when, in the autumn of 1763, a census was taken, it showed the total population as 13,112, of whom 7,500 resided permanently in the island, 4,795 of these being Roman Catholics. Proclamations were issued against Catholic immigrants, whilst to hear Mass was a penal offence. Not till 1784 was liberty of conscience granted and the free exercise of religious worship permitted. But nearly twenty years previously a more enlightened Governor, Sir Henry Palliser, undertook to develop the coast of Labrador, and in the interests of the Eskimos of that region issued a passport to four of the Moravian Brethren to establish a mission among these savages—a civilising agency that still continues there.

II

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE appointing of the first resident Governor, Sir Thomas Cochrane, in 1825, paved the way for the granting of Representative Governments seven years later. To understand what conditions in the island were like in those days it is important to remember that only in 1813 was the building of houses legal, that not until 1820, or just a century ago, was it permissible to hold grants of land in the island, that not until 1827 was the first road made, and that at this time the total population was but 90,000. The first Legislature was of course of the type still prevailing in Crown Colonies, the members being mostly appointed and the Governor exercising most of the functions that the Premier does now; it took indeed twenty years of energetic agitation to secure the measure of "home rule" now known as Responsible Government. This was conceded in 1854, and the first Parliament under the new dispensation met early in the following year. One of its earliest enactments was the making of a census, which took place in 1857, and showed a population of 124,288, of whom 1,615 were domiciled in Labrador. The island had but little intercourse with the outside world in those days, for steam communication was virtually unknown. Sailing craft brought in the necessary food-stuffs and took away the catch of codfish and other products by which the colony lived, communication was infrequent and irregular, and everything was on a most primitive scale. But in 1857 the Legislature granted a concession for the first transatlantic telegraph cable, which was laid the next year, though it was not until 1866 that permanent unbroken communication by this agency was established. Since then Newfoundland has proved a steadily increasing factor in this service, so that at present five-sixths of all the cables across the Atlantic are laid through Newfoundland.

A discovery of copper in 1857 attracted attention to the island's mineral possibilities, and a Geological Survey was established in 1864. The same year saw Newfoundland accepting the invitation of her Canadian neighbours to a Conference at Charlottetown, and later at Quebec, for the purpose of federating the British colonies in North America. This Conference subsequently resulted in the Dominion of Canada as we know it to-day, but Newfoundland declined to become a party thereto, and at an election on this issue in 1869 the pro-Confederate Ministry of Mr. (later Sir) Frederick Carter and Mr. (later Sir) Ambrose Shea was overthrown.

Because of her strategic position in regard to the fisheries, due to her proximity to the Grand Banks, the chief centre of the French, American and Canadian fisheries as well as her own, Newfoundland played an important part in the relations between the Canadians and the Americans in regard to reciprocity in 1854–66, participated in conferences and conventions turning on this subject held at various intervals since then, figured in a similar issue with the French in relation to their rights on parts of the seaboard, which came to be known as the "French Shore Question"; was a party to the Chamberlain-Bayard Anglo-American negotiations on fishery matters in 1888; negotiated in 1890 through Mr. (now Sir) Robert Bond, then Colonial Secretary, an agreement with Mr. Blaine, at that time American Secretary of State, for reciprocal fishery advantages, which agreement Canada blocked; sought terms of union with Canada in 1895, following upon a financial disaster which afflicted the country in December 1894, and is known as the "Bank Crash," but was unable to obtain terms which would have made union possible; secured loans in London later and re-established her financial stability; effected a satisfactory ending to the "French Shore" dispute in 1904, by the Convention of London of that year, the Mother-country, as we have seen, granting France concessions in Africa in return for a withdrawal in Newfoundland; eliminated the similar American dispute by an arbitration at The Hague in 1910; and has since then been able to enjoy the, to her, unusual position of being mistress in her own home and exercising undisputed authority over sections of her seaboard where such was formerly challenged.

To the men who guided her destinies as Premiers during the past sixty years Newfoundland owes much. Philip Little laid firm and strong the foundations upon which the edifice of Responsible Government was erected. Charles Bennett led the anti-Confederate hosts and preserved for the island its political individuality. Frederick Carter pursued a practical constructive policy in internal affairs. William Whiteway was the father of the railway policy which did so much to modernise the country's outlook on life and affairs. James Winter reorganised the public service on modern lines. Robert Bond was a patriotic champion of Newfoundland's rights as against all outsiders; and Edward Morris, energetic and far-sighted, carried her through the stormy years of the war with conspicuous success. The later Premiers are following in the footsteps of their predecessors.

Newfoundland's modern history may be said to have been begun with the adoption of the policy of railway construction in 1880. Prior to that its entire population had been settled along the seaboard, because, being fishermen, they had to make their homes beside the ocean from which they drew their livelihood. Even now, forty years later, there are in the interior only the settlements along the railway-line which have grown up as a result of lumbering and pulp-making, with the substantial town of Grand Falls, the centre of the Northcliffe paper-mills, as a permanent and expanding tribute to the success of the policy of developing resources other than those of the fisheries. In 1880 the country decided to attempt what, to it, was the enormous undertaking of a narrow-gauge (3 ft. 6 in.) railroad from St. John's to Notre Dame Bay, about 300 miles, with a forty-mile branch to Harbour Grace, the second town in the island, on the north side of Conception Bay. Misfortune, however, befell this enterprise, and the section from St. John's to Harbour Grace only was constructed. The Government next built a similar branch to Placentia on the south coast, and in 1890 a contract was made with Mr. (later Sir) R. G. Reid, of Montreal, to carry the line to Notre Dame Bay and subsequently to extend it to Port-aux-Basques (on the south-west coast, the nearest point in the island to Sydney, Cape Breton, which is the easternmost point of extension of the Inter-colonial Railway of Canada), with provision for the ocean gap between (102 miles) to be crossed by a fine steamer giving tri-weekly connection between Newfoundland and the western continent. The undertaking was successfully carried out, and Mr. Reid was given further concessions. But the all-embracing character of this arrangement provoked great hostility in Newfoundland, caused the overthrow of the Winter Government which made it, and put in power in the autumn of 1900 the Ministry of Sir Robert Bond, pledged to the repeal of the contract. Later, however, the Government negotiated another instrument more in accord with public sentiment, under which the railway and a system of coastal steamboats are still being operated.

The story of the railway enterprise in Newfoundland is a long and complicated one, not possible to treat in the limited space here available, but it has at any rate resulted in giving Newfoundland facilities in this respect almost equal to those enjoyed in the great Canadian Dominion, for Newfoundland has, in round figures, 1,000 miles of railroad for 270,000 people or one mile for every 270 persons, while Canada has about 40,000 miles for 8,000,000 people or one mile to every 200 persons. This is by no means a poor showing for a country with limited resources like Newfoundland. The financial problems arising out of the railroad have, however, been seriously complicated as a result of the war and the increased cost of living; and the Company has during the past six years suffered from the increased cost of labour, coal and every other necessary for the operating of its railway and steamships. The railways in being are shown on the attached map (p. 242).

Twenty years ago the island's strategic importance, as the half-way house of telegraphic communication, was further proved when Signor Marconi, at St. John's, received his first trans-oceanic wireless telegraphic signals ; and only two years ago it was utilised in the same way when his assistants received wireless telephonic impulses on the same spot. During the war the Admiralty established a powerful Marconi station near St. John's for its requirements, and the island seems destined to be an important element in the service hereafter.

In 1915 the Legislature passed an Act submitting to the people by a plébiscite the question of whether or not they would favour an Act prohibiting the import, sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors, and the vote resulted in 25,000 votes for Prohibition and only 5,000 against it. Consequently the Act was brought into effect on January 1, 1917. It is one of the most drastic in the world, and permits no intoxicants to be used except for medicinal, sacramental or manufacturing purposes. Indeed, so drastic is it that an agitation against its severity has been in progress for some time past, and the Government has recently appointed a Commission to determine whether, and in what directions, amendments are desirable.

It may be added that the Island has been honoured by visits from several members of the Royal House, viz. King Edward in 1860, King George in 1894 and the Prince of Wales in 1919.

III

NEWFOUNDLAND IN THE GREAT WAR, AND SINCE

When on August 4, 1914, Britain entered the war, Newfoundland, like Canada, made ready to share therein as fully as her manhood and resources would permit. The Colonial Government immediately cabled pledges of its co-operation, undertaking to enlist 500 men for military service and to increase to 1,000 the Naval Reserve of 500 already existing. Political and other differences were buried, and Opposition and Government combined to expedite the raising and training of these forces. The raising of the naval force was easy, as a Naval Reserve had been organised in the island fifteen years before, which had proved very popular amongst the young fishermen, for their training took place during the winter months when the ice-blockade of much of the coast made seafaring pursuits impossible for them at home, and as cruises in southern waters were part of the training they enjoyed the opportunity thereby of seeing the world at the time most convenient for them. When war began, the Reservemen were dispersed between Labrador and the Grand Banks, as the fishing-season was at its height, but all hurried to St. John's at the call, and by the end of August there were, according to the Commander of the drill-ship, only two unreported, one being deranged and the other subsequently reported dead. Very quickly the required additional 500 were obtained, and before the war ended the number had grown to about 2,000, its members having seen service in all of the Seven Seas. Most of them were employed with the Tenth Cruiser Squadron on patrol work between the Orkneys and the Norwegian coast, for which service they proved admirably adapted. Various naval officers with whom they served testified to their splendid qualities, but the very nature of the work, separated as they were in scores, if not hundreds, of vessels, made it impossible for them to secure collective recognition such as came to their brothers-in-arms on land.

The young men of St. John's were prompt to respond to the call to arms; and of the volunteers for the first contingent of 500 men more than 80 per cent. came from here, though the rest of the island, grouped under the title of "outports," furnished substantial enlistments for the succeeding contingents. Within a fortnight the first 500 were enrolled. Before the war Newfoundland had no military force whatever, not even a militia of the most rudimentary kind. Hence the whole military organisation had to be constructed from the ground upwards. Fortunately the Cadet Corps, associated with the different Church organisations, had been in existence for years, and had given hundreds of young fellows the elements of drill; most of these rallied to the colours, and the regiment was thus embodied. A retired drill-sergeant was secured for his customary work, a retired Regular officer passing through St. John's on a steamer was "commandeered" for Adjutant, and the other officers were obtained by appointing recruits who had held commissions in these Boy Brigades to lieutenancies and captaincies. There was not even an effective rifle available, so an appeal was made to Canada to furnish us with 500. These, thanks to the active efforts of the Duke of Connaught, then Governor-General, were ultimately secured, but did not reach St. John's until after the men had sailed to join the first Canadian contingent off Cape Race, and thus to form part of the convoy of thirty-two ships which crossed the Atlantic in October and landed at Plymouth in the latter days of that month.

It is doubtful whether any part of the Empire can tell a war story more remarkable than this, i.e. the creation in a self-governing Dominion, without any military organisation whatever, of a force which, in the four years of the war, grew from 500 to 6,000 men, which was strengthened within a few months of its original creation so as to form a full battalion, and which in due course took its place in the fighting-line with other units of the British Army. It maintained itself there through the whole period of the war, fighting gallantly in the fall of 1915 at Gallipoli, where it received its baptism of blood, suffering virtual extinction at Beaumont-Hamel on July 1, 1916, where it lost 80 per cent. of its personnel, and being four times reconstructed between then and the end of the struggle, ultimately forming part of General Plumer's vanguard of the British Army of Occupation at Cologne in the days which succeeded the signing of the Armistice.

The basis on which this force was organised was that Newfoundland would do for her men in pay, allowances, pensions, etc., all that Canada would do for hers; and that pledge has been loyally fulfilled up to date. As to losses, no Oversea Dominion can show a finer record, the 6,000 soldiers suffering over 1,200 fatalities, or 20 per cent. of the total, and nearly 200 of the 2,000 sailors engaged losing their lives as well.

The colony, like the rest of the world, suffered severe commercial and financial setbacks in the autumn of 1914; and because her principal resources were those furnished by her fisheries, the market for most of these being in Europe, she found that until trade had reacted to the new conditions, sales of fishery products were seriously hampered. Depression and uncertainty thus prevailed for some months. But as with the rest of the Empire, Newfoundland overcame these conditions; within a year she found herself on a stable basis again and, until the termination of hostilities, enjoyed a steadily advancing degree of prosperity, as a result of the demand for her foodstuffs in the warring and adjoining countries. These suffered from a severe shortage of sea-food because, on the one hand, their fishing elements were pressed into war-service and, on the other, because neutral fishermen were unable to ply their calling in the seas in which they had previously done business: for these were swept daily by the naval forces of the belligerents.

Hence food shortages sent Newfoundland's codfish to prices unapproached for over a century, since the days when Wellington's troops in the Peninsula had a daily ration of "baccalao"[1]; while cod and seal oils also found ready markets at the highest rates, the glycerine in their composition being required for the manufacture of munitions.

The economic history of the colony during the war-period might be described by the saying that after the first recovery there was no abatement of industrial activity during the whole time, for although a lessening ensued in the production of iron-ore and of pulp and paper, the two principal subsidiary industries, the general loss of employment which would otherwise have resulted was not felt, for the places of the younger men who were drawn from fishing, mining and lumbering to undertake active service by land or sea were readily filled by the older men who could not proceed overseas.

The story of the Newfoundland Regiment's activities may be briefly summarised as follows: After training at Salisbury, Edinburgh and Aldershot, it was in the summer of 1915 posted for service, Egypt being its destination. On reaching Alexandria, however, it was diverted to Gallipoli, where reinforcements were badly needed at the time. Here it was included in the famous 29th Division and served with that immortal unit at the Dardanelles, where it remained until the evacuation in December 1915; then to Egypt, where it was brought up to strength again; and thence it was moved to France during the following spring, where it was put into the line at Beaumont-Hamel before the opening of the Battle of the Somme. At Beaumont-Hamel it attempted the impossible, and of 886 men who went forward on that eventful day only 68 answered the roll next morning. Reinforcements in time were supplied from the depot of the Regiment, then established in Ayr, Scotland, and on October 16, 1916, at Gueudecourt, the Newfoundlanders had their revenge, defeating a German force and capturing three machine-guns, which were later shipped home as a testimony to the Regiment's prowess and received with due ceremony. Substantial losses were incurred in this engagement, but these were made up promptly, and after a winter of minor actions the Regiment was again strongly engaged at Monchy-le-Preux in May 1917. Here it once more suffered heavily, having attacked a wooded position into which a large Bavarian force had been moved overnight, literally overwhelming the Newfoundlanders, who had 136 fatalities and some 280 men captured; but their dare-devil attack so disconcerted the Germans that instead of advancing against a thinly-held British position they wavered and lost a golden opportunity. With the 29th Division the Newfoundlanders, again reinforced to fighting strength, were next moved to Ypres, where several engagements were fought. Towards the end of that November they won further distinction in the fight of Cambrai, and were steadily engaged until the advent of winter discontinued active operations.

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[1] The Iberian term for codfish.

When, early in 1918, the big German offensive against the Allies on the western front commenced, the appeal of Premier Lloyd George to all parts of the Empire for further men was met in Newfoundland by a Conscription Act, passed unanimously by both Houses of the Legislature and enforced without popular dissent. While the Bill was under consideration 1,000 extra men enlisted, sufficient for all requirements, and thus it became almost unnecessary to enforce the penal provisions of the Conscription Act at all. Few of these men saw active service, though many were in the battalion which marched through the occupied German territory to the Rhine and formed part of the Army of Occupation in Cologne. After the Armistice, in pursuance of the policy of releasing the Oversea contingents as speedily as possible, they were sent back, early in 1919, to Newfoundland in two large drafts, and by the end of that year the whole of the two contingents, naval and military, had been repatriated and demobilised.

Besides these units Newfoundland also despatched a Forestry Battalion to the Mother-country in 1917, in response to an appeal for trained woodsmen. This force was restricted to those unfit for military service or over age, and a unit of 500 men was made up and stationed in Scotland, where it cut down a large forest area near Perth. The men showed much efficiency; they won high praise from the residents for their law-abiding character, and their workmanlike qualities were fully recognised. This contingent was brought back and demobilised with the soldiers in 1919.

We have no space here to give details of the zealous war-work entered upon by those left at home; of the Committees formed for training, equipping and financing the contingent, for supplying hospital necessities, pensions and funds of all sorts—including a donation of $250,000 to the British Red Cross and the raising of another $150,000 for a Patriotic Fund; nor of the excellent work accomplished by the Women's Patriotic Association, which supplied during the war a sum in money and material amounting to not far short of three-quarters of a million dollars. Suffice it to say that, from the Governor[1] and the Prime Minister[2] to the lowest fisher-boy, all did their duty as it was expected that they would; and the end of the war found the island almost exhausted with its efforts and losses, but strenuously determined to recuperate, and to develop its resources to the utmost.

The life of the Legislature, elected in 1913, would have expired normally at the end of 1917; but it was felt that an election during war-time would be undesirable, so Government and Opposition agreed on three different occasions to extensions, and not until the fall of 1919, just a year after the armistice, did an appeal to the country take place.

Similarly all the legislation required for the conduct of the war or for such conditions as were indirectly associated with it, however remotely, was passed without any hostility, and representatives of the Government and Opposition were prominent on all Committees of the Patriotic Association and on all organisations associated with the various war movements of the time.

The cost of the Colony's participation in the struggle up to the end of November 1920 amounts to about fifteen million dollars, or one-third of the Colony's total debt.

Since that date matters have progressed smoothly on the whole, and Newfoundland has taken for good her seat in the Councils of the Empire.

[1] Sir Walter Davidson.

[2] Sir Edward (now Lord) Morris.

B. ECONOMICS

IV

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Form of Government.—The Government of Newfoundland is of the form known as Responsible Government and consists of a Governor, sent out from England for a term of six years (though that period is rarely completed), and a Cabinet, usually of nine members, though during the war, under a Coalition, it was increased to twelve. The Legislature consists of two Houses, an appointive Legislative Council, or Upper House, of twenty-four members, vacancies being filled by the Ministry of the day as they occur, the members retaining their seats for life; and a House of Assembly, or Lower Chamber, of thirty-six members, elected on a manhood suffrage franchise every four years. Women Suffrage is now being agitated for, but the movement has not yet made much progress. The last General Election, held in November 1919, resulted in the return of the party describing itself as the " Liberal Reform " party, headed by Sir R. A. Squires.

The judiciary consists of a Chief Justice and two assistant judges with plenary powers as to criminal matters, but an appeal lies to the Privy Council in certain classes of civil cases; meanwhile magistrates at various points around the island deal with minor matters. Their functions are neither grave nor exacting, because crime is almost unknown, not a murder having been committed in the island for over twenty years.

St. John's.—St. John's has the only municipal government in the island, the rest of the communities, some 1,500 altogether, great and small, being known as " outports," and their affairs administered chiefly by the general Government through the agency of their representatives in the House of Assembly.

St. John's has now about 35,000 people and is the great centre of all the trade and commerce of the island. There are probably few cities of its size anywhere in the world which do such a volume of business; for four-fifths of all the fish caught around the seaboard is shipped to market through St. John's, and an equal quantity of all the imports is distributed amongst the people in return by their own schooners, by the coastal steamers and the railway trains operating from St. John's.

The city, in an ideal situation on the side of a hill, was four times destroyed by fire; but it has each time been rebuilt on a larger and finer scale. It has also suffered from financial disaster in 1814, 1860 and 1894, the last being the occasion of the "bank crash" which threatened the financial stability of the whole island. But here again the recovery has been very remarkable, and the business of the city has been conducted since then on a steadily expanding scale. It is the centre of nearly all the manufacturing of the island, its principal industries being furniture, leather, nails, rope, soap, candles, boots and shoes, fishermen's oiled clothing, tobacco, biscuits, confectionery, foundry supplies and the like. To-day it is safe to estimate that the number of hands employed would exceed 7,000, and that the value of the products would be nearly 6,000,000 dollars.

Game.—St. John's is also the centre for outfitting sportsmen and tourists, of whom great numbers visited the island annually before the war, and of which traffic there is now a revival. These visitors are attracted by the opportunities afforded for employing rod, gun and camera among the wild game and fish and the natural beauties of the seaboard and interior.

The caribou is the chief game animal, but bears, wolves and lynxes are found in the remoter sections and foxes, otters, martens, minks, muskrats and rabbits are abundant in all parts of the country. Of birds there are willow-grouse, spruce partridge, Canada goose, brent-goose, and many varieties of the duck, snipe, woodcock and plover, as well as seabirds, on which the fisher-folk all around the coast levy constant tribute; whilst for the angler, in addition to salmon and trout, the latter of several varieties, there are *ouananiche* or landlocked salmon in the large lakes in mid-interior.

Caribou-shooting is much practised by local hunters—by the fishermen who use the meat for their subsistence, and by the sportsmen who engage in it for its other attractions. The best season is in early autumn before the snow falls, though some prefer the later period. The deer are strictly preserved, and the chase is now confined mainly to genuine hunters, who, by law, can only kill three stags during the season.[1]

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[1] The licence costs $50.

Besides the shooting of caribou, the pursuit of bears, wolves and lynxes is undertaken chiefly by local hunters, who thus add to their income, disposing of the pelts to furriers. Every fisherman has a trapper's outfit, and lays snares and traps in the woods near his home. Trappers also winter in the interior, and the export of peltries every year is of substantial value. Moose were introduced some ten years ago from New Brunswick and are apparently multiplying, but of course the killing of them is forbidden until they grow more numerous.

The island's wealth in game-birds is quite as notable. Around the coast are countless sea-pigeons and guillemots, or " murs " and " turs " as the residents know them. On the fresh-water lakes wild duck of every variety and wild geese are equally numerous. The best sport for the fowler is the ptarmigan. These birds are locally called " partridge," but they are really willow-grouse. In summer they are brown in colour, but when the snow falls their plumage becomes pure white.

Partridge may be shot abundantly on " barrens " or moors near St. John's, the shooting-season opening in September. Hares or rabbits are shot or snared in the fall and winter, and are sold largely in St. John's. Since the opening of the railway the snaring of rabbits has become quite an industry through the country, and they are shipped in carloads to St. John's for disposal.

More than 300 distinct species of birds are found in Newfoundland, mostly migratory. There are no snakes, lizards, toads or any reptiles, poisonous or otherwise; and frogs were unknown until recent years, when some were brought in from Nova Scotia; but they have not thriven because of the cold.

Newfoundland is equally attractive to the angler. Salmon, grilse and sea-trout are found in all the large rivers, brook-trout are abundant in the lakes and streams, and Loch Leven and rainbow-trout have been introduced as well. The best salmon-fishing is to be had directly the salmon run up the rivers, generally about the second week in July.

If the visitor wishes to see the country as well as enjoy its sporting facilities he should take the trip across the island by rail, visiting four large rivers on the east coast—the Terranova, the Gambo, the Gauder and the Exploits, and then go on to the Humber, the George's and the Codroy on the west coast, trolling the streams for trout and salmon, enjoying the varied scenic beauties and revelling in the delightful weather.

Climate.—The climate of Newfoundland has been described[1] as follows:

"The climate of Newfoundland is, as compared with the neighbouring continent, a moderately temperate one. The heat is far less intense, on an average, during the summer than in any part of Canada, and the extreme cold of winter is much less severe. The thermometer rarely indicates higher than 70° Fahr. in the former, or much below zero in the latter, although the cold is occasionally aggravated by storms and the humidity consequent on an insular position. The climate is undoubtedly a very healthy one, and the general physique of the natives, who are a powerful-built, robust and hardy race, is a good example of its influence."

The Aborigines.—When Cabot landed on the Newfoundland coast in 1497 he found the aborigines to be savages who called themselves Beothics, and whom, because they painted themselves with ochre, he termed Red Indians. Some scientists think them a branch of the Algonquins, a warlike tribe once occupying most of Eastern Canada and the near-by areas of the present United States. Others consider them a separate and older race of red men who, before history's dawn, migrated from the Continent to Newfoundland. In features they resembled the Indians of the mainland; had high cheek-bones, dark eyes, straight black hair, were copper-coloured, well-developed physically, intelligent, peaceful and inclined at first to friendly intercourse with the whites. They maintained themselves by hunting and fishing; and subsistence for themselves was not difficult. Various causes, however, provoked quarrels between them and the whites; the rough, half-savage settlers harried them; and fishermen squatting along the coast soon made havoc amongst them. Gradually their numbers diminished, and they retreated farther and farther into the interior until they found a last lodgment on Red Indian Lake, in the heart of the island, where, about a hundred years ago, the last of them perished.

Somewhat before that, in the later years of the naval Governors, efforts were made to promote friendly relations with them, but without avail. In 1760 Governor Palliser issued a proclamation forbidding barbarities against these natives, which was repeated by each of his successors on assuming power; but these naval Governors were only on the coast in summer, and the patrol was small while the coast was extensive; the natives therefore enjoyed little benefit from it, their extinction being at most postponed only a few years by it. In 1801 Lieutenant Buchan, R.N., went by boat up the Exploits River —so called, it is thought by some, to commemorate a massacre of these natives by settlers, hoping to establish friendly intercourse with them, but the venture ended in two of his party being killed and beheaded.

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[1] By the late Mr. A. Murray, C.M.G., Director of Geological Surveys.

Several women of the tribe were captured between 1804 and 1823, and kindly treated, being sent back with many presents; but their relations were, not unnaturally, extremely shy. In 1828 a final effort to get into touch with these Indians was made, an expedition being despatched under Mr. Cormack, who had crossed the island in 1823, being the first white man to do so; but though he found evidence that some at least of the Indians had been alive the previous year, none has ever been seen since, and the discovery of a damaged canoe on the shore of a lake indicated that all its occupants, the last of the race, had probably perished in a storm.

Labrador.—The eastern or Atlantic coast of Labrador was largely explored by British voyagers; west of Belle Isle Strait the " Gulf Coast " was explored by the French. It followed that British fishermen were attracted to the Atlantic coast and French fishermen to the Gulf coast, but no definite date can really be given for the acquisition of the eastern territory.

In 1763, following the conquest of Canada by Britain, the coast of Newfoundland from the St. John's River (opposite the west end of Anticosti) east, and that of Labrador north to Hudson Straits, was annexed to Newfoundland. In 1774 it was re-annexed to Quebec.

In 1809 it was once more transferred to Newfoundland, and in 1825 a new division of the territory was made, by which the jurisdiction of Canada was extended to Blanc Sablon at the west end of Belle Isle Strait, and Newfoundland confirmed in the control of the rest of the region, east and north, which arrangement prevails to this day.

Newfoundland therefore enjoys jurisdiction over the coastline of Labrador from the western end of Belle Isle Strait east and north to Hudson Bay; and the Imperial Privy Council is now being asked to decide what share of the hinterland attaches to this undisputed seaboard possession. Canada likewise claims the interior; but no boundary has ever been set down.

The peninsula of Labrador has a seaboard of 600 miles on its Atlantic front, is 450 miles wide at its western extremity, between James Inlet in Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence River, and its total area is about 400,000 square miles, or ten times that of Newfoundland. At one time this seaboard was much more important than it is to-day, for France maintained a garrison at Forteau, at the western entrance of Belle Isle Strait, and Britain one at Château on the coast opposite Newfoundland. Château lies north of Battle Harbour, in an inlet deriving its name from rock formations at the mouth, castle-like in appearance and rising 200 feet above the sea-level like some grim fortress of the Middle Ages. History says that when the Acadians of Nova Scotia were driven from their homes, some of them found a refuge here and built a fort, the remains of which are still visible. A British garrison was established here to protect the fisheries, but was captured in 1783 by an American privateer which carried off three vessels and seventy thousand pounds' worth of property; while three years later the French came and took the place, after which it was abandoned. The French, on their part, maintained a garrison at Forteau, which, after being ravaged several times by the British, and being decimated more than once by the rigors of winter, aggravated by starvation brought about through the loss, on the way from France, of ships laden with stores for the use of the garrison, finally met the fate of Château, being abandoned and to-day serving as a mere fishing-station.

Midway up the east coast are the magnificent fiord of Hamilton Inlet and Lake Melville, 30 miles wide at the mouth and extending 150 miles in from the sea, into which falls the principal river of Labrador, the Grand or Hamilton River. About 250 miles from its mouth are the Grand Falls of Labrador, one of the most remarkable cataracts in the world, 316 feet in height and the mass of water far out-rivalling Niagara.

Labrador is practically unsettled, except by trappers and fishers in the southern part and by Eskimos in the northern, these latter having been subject for over a century to the civilising influences of the Moravian missionaries. Each party numbers about 2,000, but, in addition, the coast is visited every summer by about 15,000 Newfoundland fisherfolk—men, women and children—who ply the quest there for cod and herring, establishing themselves on its rocky seaboard and pursuing their avocation in the adjoining waters. The seaboard is very rocky and forbidding, and most of the interior is composed of mountains and barren plateaux, covered with moss and strewn with rocks and boulders. At the heads of the bays is timber of commercial value, and along the margins of the rivers in the southern section can be found land capable of cultivation; but most of the country is a vast tableland about 2,000 feet above sea-level, where nomadic tribes of Indians roam, the principal being the Montagnais and Nascopie races. Labrador is the principal theatre of the beneficent activities of Dr. W. T. Grenfell, the well-known medical missionary, who for over twenty years has been labouring unselfishly among the residents and the summer fishermen, while the Moravians do similar work among the Eskimos in the north.

Population.—The population of Newfoundland in December 1920, at the taking of the last census, was 263,363, besides 3,647 residents on Labrador of white, half-breed or Eskimo extraction. The colony suffered heavy losses of its young men during the decade—253 by sealing disaster early in 1914 and about 1,400 by the war; and the effect of this, of course, will be to reduce relatively the growth of the population for many years to come. Newfoundland enjoys no immigration whatever, and its emigration represented for the decade 1901–11 about 3½ per cent., the colony retaining 10 per cent. of its natural increases during that period.

Denominationally there were at the last census about 81,000 Roman Catholics, 78,000 Anglicans, 68,000 Methodists, 10,000 Salvationists, 2,000 Presbyterians, 1,000 Congregationalists and 1,700 of other denominations. Altogether 230,000 of the population were born in Newfoundland, 1,500 in the United Kingdom, 200 in British colonies (mainly Canada) and 700 in foreign countries.

Among the population there are about 40,000 fishermen, 3,000 agriculturists, 66,000 fish-curers, 5,000 mechanics, 3,000 lumbermen and 3,000 professional men, besides employees in numerous other occupations.

Educational.—The education statistics show fair results. There are nearly 1,000 schools with accommodation for over 56,000 scholars, and nearly 150,000 can write. Newfoundland's education system is denominational in the fullest sense, each of the various Churches receiving a *per capita* share of the funds appropriated for educational purposes and expending the same itself, under the supervision of a department of Government which in no way interferes with the religious teaching. The annual educational appropriation amounts to about $840,000.

V

RESOURCES, TRADE AND FINANCE

Fisheries.—Newfoundland's chief dependence is on her fisheries, of which the principal are the cod, herring, salmon, seal and whale fisheries. The cod fishery consists of two main branches, the "shore" and the "Labrador" fisheries. The first is that pursued around the seaboard of the island itself by the people residing in the countless harbours, who ply their calling by various methods: by lines, trawls and traps, the latter being great roomlike nets sunk in the water near the coast and into which the fish make their way, these latter appliances being only possible to the wealthier classes. This "shore" fishery yields about two-thirds of the total catch, representing about 1,000,000 quintals (cwt.) a year. It includes a subsidiary, the "Bank" fishery, conducted on the Grand Banks every summer by about fifty vessels, whose men fish by means of buoyed lines ("trawls") with hooks thereon, each line stretching for a mile or so above the shoal waters of the region. The average annual catch of the Banking "fleet" is about 100,000 quintals.

The Labrador fishery is the most unusual and adventurous of all. About 15,000 Newfoundlanders, men, women and children, migrate to the Labrador coast in June each year in their fishing-vessels and establish themselves in the harbours, where they carry on fishing operations, they being known as "stationers," while other men, in their vessels, follow the fish in their migration northwards, and are termed "floaters." Many of the former ship their catch to market direct from the coast; but the rest, and all the "floaters," bring it back to Newfoundland to complete its cure. Labrador's annual catch is about 400,000 quintals.

The *cod fishery* begins annually on the south coast after the opening of the year, when the fishermen prosecute it there, despite snow and ice and blizzards; and as the fish work around east and north by Cape Race, fishing starts in these areas with the passing of the ice-floes about May 1. Operations then follow northward to Hudson Strait, ceasing there about the end of October, when all return before winter storms begin, and prepare to cure the last of their catch for shipment abroad. This process consists in first pickling the fish and then drying it in the sun. The annual export of dried codfish amounts to from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 quintals, and that of pickled codfish to about a tenth of that quantity.

The livers of the codfish are, when fresh, converted, by refining with steam-heat, into the cod-liver oil so extensively used for medicinal purposes; and, when stale and treated by exposure to the sun in vats or puncheons, into cod oil, for which there is a great demand for tanning purposes. The annual exports of cod oils during the past ten years varied between 35,000 and 99,000 barrels, and of refined cod-liver oil between 2,000 and 17,000 barrels, each of 200 lb. The value per cod-oil barrel in 1920 was about $23 and per cod-liver-oil barrel about $52.

The *seal fishery* in March and April each year is very different from that of the Pacific Ocean. The Pacific seal is valued for its fur alone, from which women's coats are made, while the Newfoundland seal is valued for its skin and oil, the former being made into leather, and the latter utilised for various purposes. The seals are mainly found on the ice-floes off the east coast, where the young are born, and the industry is conducted by means of steamers which make their way as near as possible to the ice-floes among which the seals are located. The crews of the ships then traverse the floes and kill the seals, as they find them, with heavy blows on the head from steel-shod clubs. The ships, of about 300 to 400 tons, are of the now almost extinct wooden-whaler type, so strong that they can face ice conditions which would daunt an ironclad; they carry some 200 men each and if lucky return to St. John's within a fortnight, while if less fortunate remain out some four or five weeks. The industry is very hazardous, for ships are sometimes engulfed with all hands, and on other occasions many of the crew may perish through being caught by a blizzard while afar on the floes and unable to reach their ship during the storm.

The annual exports of seal-fishery products during the past ten years averaged roughly 37,000 barrels of seal oil at $11 per barrel and 21,900 sealskins at 1½ dollars apiece.

The *whale fishery* is conducted by the modern method introduced by the Norwegians some fifty years ago. Small fast steamers, fitted with mortars on the bows throwing an explosive harpoon, are employed to chase the rorqual whale, which resorts to the waters of the temperate zone. This is a species distinct from the sperm whale of the tropics or bow-head whale of the Arctics. This industry attained such dimensions some fifteen years ago that over twenty steamers were engaged, and the kill in one year exceeded 2,000; but the huge "fish" were so frightened at being hunted persistently that they deserted these waters, and in the past year only a single whaler was engaged in the business. The export of whale-fishery products in the past ten years has sunk from 25,000 whale-oil barrels in 1910, value $147,000, to 1,900 barrels, value $31,000, in 1920.

The *herring fishery* is pursued during the autumn, winter and spring in the bays on the west, north and south coasts, part of the catch being preserved by being frozen and thrown into the holds of vessels, in which fashion it is taken to Canadian and American ports. Most of the herring are preserved by salting, and as during the war the Scotch herring-fishery declined greatly, Newfoundland undertook extensively the business of curing herring in the "Scotch pack" method for sale in the United States. Ordinarily, though, they are handled for early sale, and not cured to stand being in storage. During the last ten years the fishery has averaged from 140,000 to 240,000 barrels, with a value of from 2 to 12 dollars per barrel, the astonishing increases during the war-years being due to the scarcity of European herring to compete with them.

The *lobster fishery* takes the form of preserving the flesh of these crustaceans by packing them in tins. This industry dates back only fifty years, having then been devised by the Americans and spread northwards, with the result that, owing to persistent over-fishing, the catch has now been so reduced that a can of lobster is a rich man's delicacy instead of being a poor man's necessary, as it was at first. Formerly lobsters were so abundant on all parts of the North Atlantic coast that they were considered a nuisance rather than otherwise, and tales are told of how, after storms, they were thrown up in millions along the beaches by the seas, the shells in many cases being burnt and converted into lime. Even in the earliest years of the industry their abundance was great, but these crustaceans, being slow of reproduction, gradually diminished in numbers, until to-day the quantity taken is only about one-fourth of what it was at the outset. The exports of lobsters, even during the past ten years, have sunk fron 26,000 cases (at 48 1-lb. tins), value $338,000, to 9,000 cases, value $325,000, the prices having thus nearly trebled.

The chief output of the commercial *salmon fishery* is in the form of pickled salmon, the fish being so treated to preserve them; but since the trains have been traversing the west coast, and there is regular steamer traffic with Canada, opportunity has been afforded of sending salmon forward preserved in ice and moss. Formerly the salmon fishing in the estuaries, which was in those days altogether directed to pickling, was much larger than of late, because the continual netting of the fish has resulted in their depletion.

Salmon fishing as a pastime is of course distinct altogether from this industry, but the patrolling of the rivers latterly tends to increase the opportunities of this sport. The largest salmon ever taken in the island (of which there is record) was secured two years ago by an American angler in the Codroy section, and tipped the scale at 41 lb.

The exports of salmon for the past ten years have varied between 74,000 and 300,000 lb., at about 11 lb. to the dollar, fresh; the value of the pickled fish (3,000 to 8,000 barrels a year) running from 12 to 19 dollars per barrel.

Exported Products.—These and minor fisheries represent from 60 to 70 per cent. of the total annual exports of the colony, as will be seen more clearly from the subjoined table of the various classes of exports for the past decade:

Year.	Products, Fisheries.	Products, Forest.	Products, Mines.	Products, Manufacturers.	Total.
	$	$	$	$	$
1909–10	9,578,984	313,967	1,370,775	425,159	11,824,991
1910–11	8,798,932	307,967	1,565,919	1,068,376	11,975,747
1911–12	10,639,721	136,526	1,340,297	1,613,672	13,874,809
1912–13	10,424,566	249,671	1,497,897	2,234,789	14,672,889
1913–14	10,907,677	315,430	1,551,803	2,183,611	15,134,543
1914–15	9,639,789	210,598	690,746	2,227,781	13,136,880
1915–16	13,740,894	896,875	1,034,930	3,142,642	18,969,496
1916–17	17,651,001	686,157	1,256,242	2,600,623	22,381,762
1917–18	25,547,334	320,609	972,203	3,045,893	30,153,517
1918–19	32,792,271	395,700	861,394	2,256,158	36,784,616
1919–20	27,823,331	604,457	609,202	5,090,513	34,865,438

Forest Wealth.—Newfoundland has forest wealth of decided potential value and of considerable variety, and is the home to-day of one of the world's greatest paper-mills and of two smaller enterprises, being also a centre for lumbering on a small scale. According to official figures given out in 1910 there were 14,000 square miles of forest land in the country. Forest areas reproduce themselves so rapidly here that any tract cut-out or burned-over produces thirty years later wood suitable for making pulp and paper, for utilisation for pit-props, for mining purposes and so forth, and within double that period trees large enough to be sawn into commercial timber. The forest wealth is varied and extensive, the trees including white pine, yellow pine, red pine, spruce, fir, juniper, white birch, yellow birch, aspen, alder, white maple, and numerous others. The white pine is of a very high quality and for some years was exported extensively to foreign countries, notably to South America; but with the advent of pulp- and paper-mills the demands upon it for local requirements were such that the entire annual output is now absorbed locally.

The timber wealth exists principally in the north-eastern part of the island, along the Exploits, Gander and Humber Rivers, and the series of other rivers flowing into Bay of Islands and St. George's Bay. The wooded areas are mainly in the valleys and around the shores of the lakes and streams. These have been more or less explored and rough estimates obtained as to the kind and quantity of timber they contain, but only a small percentage of them has been cut over, and much of the forested area is still the virgin growth.

"Forest products," in the export returns, formerly comprised pit-props, lumber, and pulp and paper, but the latter have in recent years become sufficiently important to form the principal item in the classification "products of manufactures." Lumbering was once an industry of substantial dimensions, the product of which was exported to Europe, United States and South America; but the depleting of the pine forests on the one hand, and the expansion of the pulp and paper industry on the other, have reduced it to one of minor importance. The exports of these commodities for the past ten years have greatly varied, from over 7,500,000 cubic feet in 1909 and 1916 to 21,000 in 1917.

The normal year's production of lumber for local purposes amounts to some 25,000,000 feet, valued at about $1,250,000.

Pulp and Paper Industry.—The pulp and paper industry must now be regarded as permanently established in Newfoundland; and it is, indeed, exceeded in importance only by the fisheries. In 1915 the famous Harmsworth Brothers, of London, acquired an extensive forest area on the Exploits River, the largest watercourse in the island, with a water-power at Grand Falls capable of generating 30,000 horse-power. At this point they established a plant and created a town, where they have now mills which manufacture over 215 tons of newsprint paper per day, besides by-products.

At Gander Lake, some 80 miles south, a Norwegian company is at present constructing mills for the manufacture of 150 tons of ground-wood pulp daily, which it is proposed to use in the manufacture of *kraft* (packing) and other papers. Several other forest areas exist which might be utilised for the establishing of other mills, and these areas will probably be operated in the not distant future. Plans are now being worked out by the Government and the Reid Railroad Company for creating a new winter port at Argentia, in Placentia Bay, from which it is hoped to ship material in the winter months; and there is no reason why the paper industry should not prosper amazingly.

The exports of pulp and paper for the past ten years have varied greatly; e.g. from 7,000 tons of pulp in 1909 to 71,000 in 1919, and from 8,000 tons of paper in 1909 to 81,000 in 1920.

Minerals.—" Almost every known metallic substance of value is now found to exist in the country. . . . The useful mineral substances brought to light up to the present date consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, tin, antimony, pyrite, zinc, cadmium, nickel, cobalt . . . manganese and many other metals; while amongst the more valuable non-metallic materials are talc, gypsum, coal, graphite, petroleum, salt, stone, slate, marble, limestone, etc. . . . Many of the minor precious stones . . . are also found as well as sands, clays, pigments and peat of the finest qualities. . . ."[1] There are big iron-mines at Bell Island exporting from 500,000 to 1,000,000 tons annually; copper production has fallen; but coal areas are being developed and warrant strong hopes of commercial success.

With regard to the island's mineral wealth it is important clearly to understand that the country is absolutely unprospected, except on sections of the seaboard, and that the interior may and probably will be found in time to contain deposits vastly more wealth-producing than any yet discovered. The people are fishers and not miners; they do not take seriously to the quest for minerals, and when deposits of value are actually found it is as much by chance as by any organised quest therefor. Very little systematic development has been done, and most of the prospecting has been undertaken by inexperienced persons.

Agriculture.—While Newfoundland has not extensive agricultural possibilities, yet farming on a rudimentary scale is practised all round the country, and on the west coast has

[1] Professor Howley.

become a local industry of substantial import. It is doubtful if the island can ever reach the stage of exporting farm-products: but even the most enthusiastic among its people would be satisfied if it could produce all of its own requirements, except flour—for wheat will not ripen in Newfoundland, and all needs in that respect have to be imported. But from what has otherwise been done, it should be able to produce all its own vegetables, butter, cheese, fresh and salted meat, poultry, and the like; goodly proportions of these are already raised, and in order to solve the problem to this limited extent it is only a case of encouraging the people to greater activity.

Newfoundland's agricultural industry being of this character, with fishing, mining and paper-making as her chief resources, the people have to import nearly all they eat, wear and use; and these requirements are mainly obtained from the English-speaking countries—Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Before the war the imports from these were about equal in value, but of late years the trend of trade has been very marked towards the latter two, and all lovers of inter-Imperial commerce will regret to learn how America has displaced England in this trade-struggle. Patriotic business men are trying to restore pre-war conditions in this respect, but it will not be easy, particularly as the Americans send great numbers of commercial travellers here, while the English are not nearly so active in this respect. The figures of imports for the past ten years tell the story of this diversion conclusively. For in 1910, of a total value of 13,000,000 dollars imports, Great Britain provided 23 per cent., Canada 35 per cent. and the U.S.A. 35 per cent.; whilst of 40,500,000 dollars imports in 1920 the figures were respectively 9 per cent., 48 per cent. and 39 per cent.

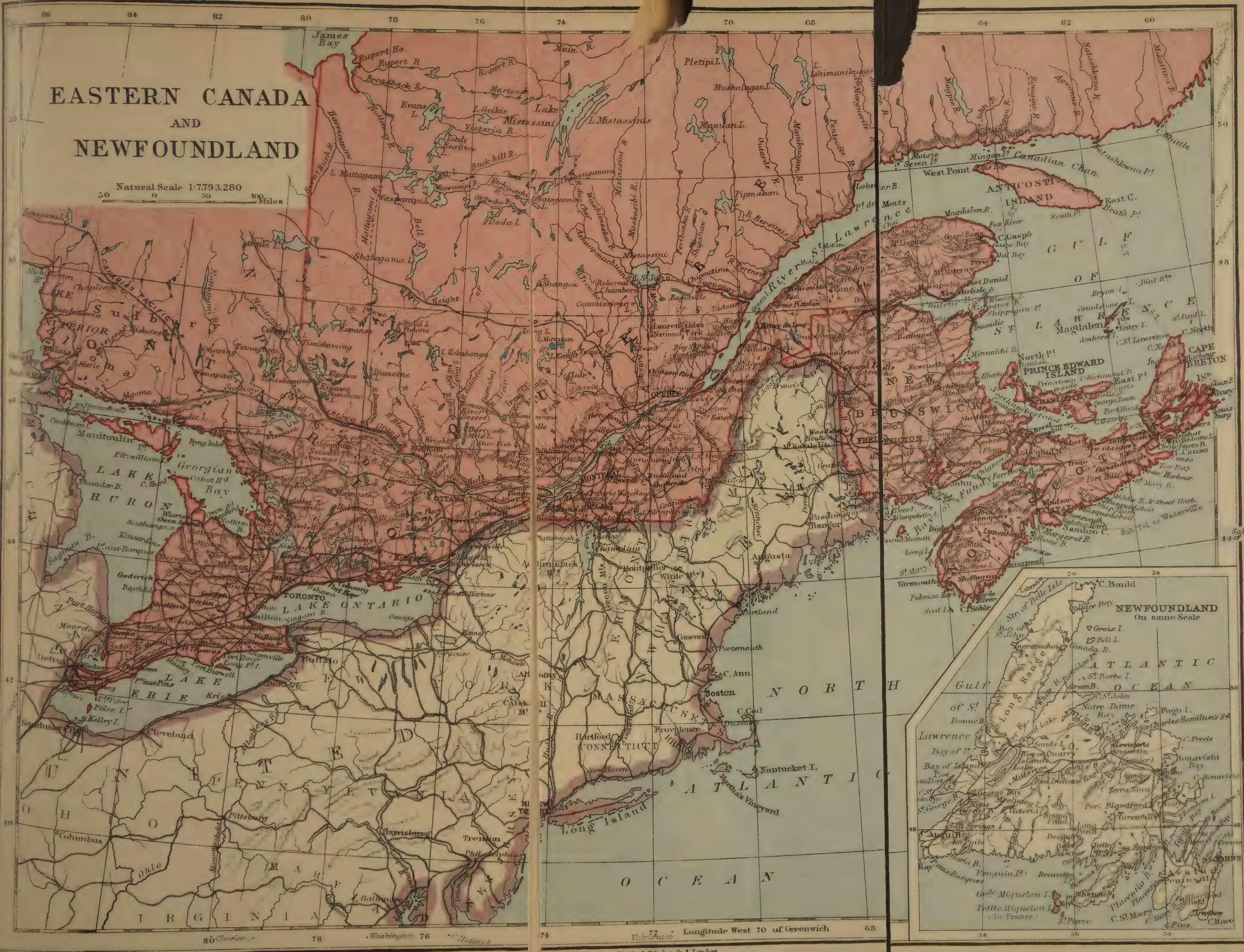
The trend of exports is altogether different, for while Newfoundland sends pulp and paper to the British Isles, iron-ore to Canada and seal skins and oils to the United States, most of the fishery-products go to countries from which little is imported, namely Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, West Indies and Brazil. The export figures for the past ten years show that in 1910, out of 12,000,000 dollars export, the United Kingdom took 16 per cent., Canada 12 per cent., the United States 9 per cent. and other countries 63 per cent. In 1920, out of 35,000,000, Great Britain took 18 per cent., Canada 8 per cent., U.S.A. 12½ per cent. and other countries 61½ per cent.

Both sets of figures disclose the remarkable increase in the country's prosperity resulting from the war, an increase perhaps the most remarkable of any country in the world actively engaged in hostilities from the outset of the struggle. It is, however, not likely to continue at the same rate in future, and the last two years' returns show a serious diminution both in imports and exports.

The colony maintains itself chiefly through the revenues derived from customs duties on imports, and the figures for the past decade show how the country has prospered during that period.

As a final set of figures, the fiscal position for some recent years is given herewith:

Year.	Revenue.	Loans.	Expenditure.	Funded Debt.
	$	$	$	$
1909–10	3,447,989	180,250	3,137,775	22,943,197
1914–15	3,950,790	1,110,112	4,008,623	31,454,678
1919–20	10,515,543	—	9,292,581	33,033,000



EASTERN CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

Natural Scale 1:7,793,280

50 0 50 100 Miles
NEWFOUNDLAND On same Scale
Longitude West 70 of Greenwich
86
84
82
80
78
76
74
72
70
68
64
62
60
58
56
54
James Bay
Rupert R.
Broadback R.
L. Mistassini
Victoria R.
L. Mattagami
Shabogama L.
Height of Land
L. St. John
Saguenay R.
Chicoutimi
Tadousac
Pt. des Monts
Gulf of St. Lawrence
River St. Lawrence
Anticosti Island
Canadian Chan.
West Point
East C.
Heath Pt.
Mingan Is.
Seven Is.
Magdalen Is.
Bryon I.
C. Gaspé
Gaspé Bay
Chaleur Bay
Prince Edward Island
Northumberland Str.
Cape Breton Isd.
Louisburg
C. North
Sable I.
Sub. Tel. to Waterville
Bay of Fundy
New Brunswick
Fredericton
Nova Scotia
Yarmouth
C. Sable
Grand Manan
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa
Kingston
Toronto
Lake Ontario
Lake Huron
Georgian Bay
Manitoulin Id.
Lake Erie
Lake Superior
Sudbury
Algoma
Thunder B.
Saginaw B.
Detroit
Lake St. Clair
Pelee I.
Kelley I.
Sandusky
Cleveland
Buffalo
Oswego
Port Huron
Goderich
Niagara
Welland
Port Dover
Nipissing
Timiskaming
Ottawa R.
Portland
Portsmouth
Boston
C. Ann
C. Cod
Nantucket I.
Martha's Vineyard
Providence
Hartford
Connecticut
New Haven
Long Island
Massachusetts
Vermont
New Hampshire
Maine
Augusta
Bangor
Concord
Montpelier
White Mts.
Adirondack Mts.
New York
Pennsylvania
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Trenton
Maryland
Baltimore
Washington
Virginia
Ohio
Columbus
Atlantic Ocean
North Atlantic Ocean
C. Bauld
Str. of Belle Isle
Hare Bay
Groix I.
Bell I.
Canada B.
St. Barbe I.
Green B.
C. St. John
Notre Dame Bay
Fogo I.
Sir Charles Hamilton's Sd.
C. Freels
Bonavista Bay
C. Bonavista
Bay of Islands
Port au Port
C. St. George
St. George B.
Long Range
Grand Lake
Red Indian L.
Exploits R.
Gander L.
Terra Nova
Trinity Bay
Conception Bay
St. John's
C. Race
Placentia B.
St. Mary B.
C. St. Mary
Fortune B.
St. Pierre
Gde. Miquelon I.
Petite Miquelon I. (To France)
Penguin Is.
Burgeo
Rose Blanche
Port aux Basques
C. Ray
C. Anguille
Gulf of St. Lawrence

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THE CROWN COLONIES OF BRITISH AMERICA

HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

THE BERMUDAS

The Bermudas, or Bermuda, as the group is variously called, form one of the most isolated of the British colonies, lying 580 miles from the nearest mainland (Cape Hatteras in North Carolina) and far away to the north-east of the Bahamas, their least distant West Indian neighbour; and, with the exception of Gibraltar, they are the smallest, having a total area of only 19 square miles. They consist of a number of limestone islands, surrounded by coral reefs. The largest island—indeed it is larger than all the rest together—is Main Island, on which stands Hamilton, capital of the colony since the end of the eighteenth century. The first capital was St. George, on St. George's Island.

The islands were discovered at the beginning of the sixteenth century by Juan Bermudez, whose ship was wrecked there. He left them his name and a herd of pigs, whose descendants were found—but "so lean that you cannot eat them"—by the next comer, Henry May, nearly a hundred years later. May's visit had been as involuntary as the Spaniard's; and at this time the Bermudas were looked on as a spot to be avoided. To Spanish mariners they were the "isle of devils," and both Raleigh and Champlain spoke of them in terms of something like horror. Certain it is that the first three recorded visits paid to them by Europeans were all the result of shipwreck.

The third and most momentous of these was that made by Sir George Somers in 1609. Somers, as a leading member of the Virginia Company, was on his way to Virginia; but a storm scattered his fleet and brought his ship at last to the islands. There he stayed for nearly a year, and when he at length arrived in Virginia he found that colony in such a state of distress that he at once undertook to fetch provisions from the Bermudas, which he described as "the most plentiful place that ever I came to for fish, hogs and fowl."

Somers died during his second visit to the islands, which for a time were known by his name, but his favourable reports, contrasting so strikingly with what had hitherto been believed of them, attracted much interest in England, and in 1612 the Virginia Company obtained an extension of their charter which brought the Bermudas under their jurisdiction. Three years later certain members of the company formed a new corporation—" the Governor and Company of the City of London for the plantation of the Somer Islands "—who bought the islands, which they owned until 1684. Meanwhile colonisation had begun, the division of the land into " tribes " or parishes—a division which still obtains for political and ecclesiastical purposes—was made; and in 1620 met the first General Assembly. With the exception of Virginia, Bermuda was the first English colony to receive representative government.

The main occupation of the earliest settlers was the cultivation of tobacco, and it was the restrictions placed on the tobacco trade by the company which led to the disputes terminating in the abolition of the charter. Various West Indian fruits were also introduced, and with them the slaves necessary for their cultivation; but by the early eighteenth century the energies of the colonists had become almost exclusively directed to shipbuilding and the transit trade between America and the West Indies, varied by wrecking and privateering. The Bermudans thus became a sturdy race of seafarers, capable, unaided, of beating off a Spanish attack on Turks Islands in 1710, and ready to defend themselves against the French privateers. But the American War, during which their loyalty to the Crown was not above suspicion, ruined their trade, and their subsequent significance has been mainly due to the naval dockyard on which work was begun in 1810. The construction of the dockyard, which is situated on Ireland Island, was carried out by English convicts, of whom about 9,000 were transported thither between 1824 and 1863.

The emancipation of slaves was carried out with less friction in the Bermudas than elsewhere. It would seem that there had always been exceptionally amiable relations between black men and white. A good many of the freed negroes were enrolled in the local militia.

As already stated, the Assembly of the Bermudas is the oldest representative legislative body still existing in the British colonies. It consists of thirty-six members, each of whom must possess freehold property valued at not less than £240, the franchise being confined to owners of freehold property worth £60 or more. There is also a Legislative Council of nine members, three official and six unofficial.

The executive power, however, is in the hands of the Governor, a servant of the Crown who is always a military officer. He is assisted by an Executive Council of seven members.

Hamilton and St. George are both corporate towns, and there are nine parish vestries.

The population of the islands numbered just over 20,000 at the census of 1921, two-thirds being negro. The large proportion of the whites, in comparison with other islands in these seas, is accounted for by the presence of the dockyard and the garrisons. The small islands of Boaz and Watford are entirely given up to the troops, and there are large contingents on Main Island and on St. George's.

Education is carried on by about fifty private schools, some aided, others unaided, at which attendance is compulsory.

The Bermudas, like Jamaica, had the distinction of being mentioned in the will of Cecil Rhodes, and a scholar is annually sent to Oxford. An annual scholarship of £150 for two years is granted by the Government to enable young Bermudans to study abroad in order to qualify themselves to compete for the Rhodes Scholarship.

Practically the only industries of the Bermudas consist of the cultivation of certain vegetables, almost all of which go to the United States. The most important of these are onions and potatoes, which represent respectively 30 per cent. and 20 per cent. of the total export (including specie) from the colony. They are shipped between December and June, when home-grown vegetables are scarce in the New York market. Great attention is paid to keeping up the standard of the potato crop, and no seed potatoes are allowed to be imported without inspection. Other vegetables exported in smaller quantities are beets, carrots, celery, lettuces and parsley. Corn, melons, pumpkins and sweet potatoes are grown for domestic consumption.

At one time lily bulbs constituted one of the most important articles of Bermudan commerce, but their culture and export have fallen off very greatly in recent years. Another crop which has declined in importance is arrowroot, although the arrowroot of the Bermudas is considered better than that which is exported in large quantities from St. Vincent.

A species of juniper, popularly known as the Bermudas cedar, is the colony's principal tree, and its dark foliage gives to certain of the islands an appearance more characteristically northerly than their latitude warrants. From the wood of this tree boats are built, but the maritime industries of the colony are a thing of the past. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the whale-fishing promised to develop in importance, but it was stopped by the revolutionary war and has never since recovered.

The industries of the Bermudas being so limited in their range the imports of the colony are inevitably far larger than its exports. In 1909, for instance, the latter amounted to £183,000 and the former to £440,000 ; while in 1920 the discrepancy was far greater, the imports reaching a value of £1,414,000 and the exports totalling only £266,000.

The islands have, however, an increasing source of wealth in their value as a health-resort. This is being more and more appreciated by Americans, and a number of large hotels have been built for their accommodation. From this point of view, indeed, the colony is now being systematically developed in conjunction with its development as a shipping centre. On the other hand, motor-cars are not yet allowed.

The annual budget fluctuates in the neighbourhood of £200,000, and there is no great discrepancy between revenue and expenditure. The public debt amounted, in 1920, to £85,000.

In 1914 the colony voted the sum of £51,750 as a contribution (payable in fifteen yearly instalments) to the British expenses in the Great War.

The character and functions of the Bermudas have been admirably summed up by Sir Charles Lucas :

“ The Bermudas are not a colony valuable for the produce of its soil. They are not an emporium for passing trade, or a fortress on a great commercial route. Nor are they, again, a land where a large native population has become accustomed to British rule. They are a corner of the Empire, which is held to the Mother-country by long, unbroken, purely English traditions ; and their present practical value consists in being one of the ocean strongholds of Great Britain. . . .

“ Though an Imperial station, they are still the home of a small community with local life, traditions and institutions. Though in close touch with New York and all the trade and bustle of the modern world, they still seem to be looking back in the past, and in their main features to be what they have ever been, the peaceful summer isles of the Atlantic.”[1]

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[1] Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, vol. ii (West Indies, 2nd ed.), pp, 29, 30.

THE BAHAMAS

The northernmost group of the West Indies (excluding the Bermudas from that category), stretching in a long line southeastwards from the coast of Florida towards Hayti and roughly parallel with Cuba, the Bahamas consist of a large number of low-lying coral islands—of which some twenty are inhabited—*cays* or islets, and rocks. Of these Andros and Great Inagua are the largest. Their total area is about 4,400 square miles, and their population in 1921 was just over 53,000. They are by far the least densely populated of the insular West Indies.

One of these islands, which were originally called the Lucayos, was the first American land reached by Columbus (October 14, 1492). It is not quite certain to which this distinction really belongs, but the claim of Watling's Island appears to be the strongest; whichever it was, the great navigator, in gratitude for having at last reached *terra firma*, called it San Salvador, a name now borne as an alternative designation by Cat Island.

Both the islands and their inhabitants made a favourable impression on Columbus. "This country," he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, "excels all others as far as the day surpasses the night in splendour; the natives love their neighbours as themselves; their conversation is the sweetest imaginable; their faces always smiling; and so gentle and so affectionate are they, that I swear to you there is not a better people in the world." Before another generation had passed Spanish greed had exterminated these gentle savages, who were carried away by thousands to perish in the mines of Hispaniola.

The Spaniards made no permanent settlements in these islands, though Ponce de Leon came to them in his fantastic search for the Fountain of Perpetual Youth. Nor, though they are said to have been known both to John Hawkins and to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, is it certain that the English came there until Eleuthera was colonised from Bermuda. Twenty years later the Bermudans also took possession of New Providence, which contains the one good harbour in the islands; and in 1667, six of the proprietors of Carolina, including the Duke of Albemarle and Lord Ashley, acting on the advice of Captain William Sayle, who had played a principal part in founding the settlement in Eleuthera, obtained a grant of the whole group.

In spite of this, however, and although preliminary steps were taken to give the new colony a government, the settlers were left very much to their own devices, and some fell into disorderly ways. Twice laid waste by the Spaniards and French, New Providence became a mere headquarters of pirates, among whom Edward Teach, or "Black Beard," was conspicuous; until in 1718 Woodes Rogers, the great buccaneer, was sent to restore order. This he effectively did; government on the usual colonial model (Governor, nominated Council and elected Assembly) was established; and new colonists, including a number of Germans from the Palatinate, were introduced.

By virtue of their geographical position, the history of the Bahamas has always been closely connected with that of the American continent. In 1776, during the War of Independence, New Providence was captured and plundered, though not garrisoned, by the rebels. In 1781 it was taken by the Spaniards, but was retaken by a small party of Englishmen from Florida even before it was formally restored by the Treaty of Versailles. A year or two later the colony became a Crown possession, the descendants of the old proprietors being indemnified by vote of Parliament.

A number of loyalist families from Georgia and Carolina found New Providence a convenient refuge, and their coming helped to further the prosperity of the colony. They are said to have introduced the cultivation of cotton, though "as good cotton as is ever grown in America" was found on the island by the settlers of 1666. Be that as it may, towards the end of the eighteenth century cotton-growing received a great impetus. In 1788, however, and again in 1794, the crops were destroyed by red bug, and from these disasters the industry never recovered. It gradually fell into decay; nor have recent attempts to revive it been successful.

A certain amount of cotton, it is true, was grown during the American Civil War, when Nassau came into temporary prominence as a centre of blockade-running, and the Bahamas enjoyed an amazing artificial prosperity. In 1860 the value of the exports of the colony was £157,000, of the imports £234,000. In 1864 the exports amounted to £4,672,000, and the imports to £5,346,000. After the war normal conditions were resumed quite naturally; but in 1866 the islands were devastated by a hurricane, from the effects of which, or of the droughts which followed it, some of the outer islands have hardly yet recovered. The figures for exports and imports in 1920 were £300,000 and £1,090,000 respectively.

The Government of the Bahamas comprises a Legislative Council, nominated by the Crown, and a popularly elected

Assembly of twenty-nine members. The Governor is head of the executive and is assisted by an Executive Council of not more than nine members, part official and part unofficial.

Hitherto the most important land-products of the islands have been fruit, of which a large variety flourish, including oranges, olives, lemons, limes, citrons, sapodillas, bananas, pomegranates and melons. Pineapples, however, are the only fruit which is systematically cultivated. Of these a considerable quantity is exported, canned or otherwise, principally to the United States. Tomatoes are also exported. Lately there has been a development of the cultivation of grape-fruit, to meet the American demand.

A vegetable product which has in recent years made great advances is sisal hemp, which may indeed be considered to have become the most valuable commercial product of the colony. In 1920 the area under cultivation was 28,000 acres, and over £51,000 worth was exported. In connection with this industry a rope-factory has been established.

The sugar-cane flourishes on some of the islands, but is no longer cultivated.

On Andros and the Abaco Islands there are quantities of large timber, such as mahogany, lignum vitae and mastic, but lack of good roads and an insufficient labour supply have prevented its proper exploitation. It is, however, used locally for the building of boats up to 200 tons, which are largely employed in the sponge-fishery.

At one time there was a certain amount of stock-raising, but this industry has been almost entirely abandoned. In Inagua there is a broad tract of savanna which is excellently suited for this purpose, and indeed wild cattle are still to be found there.

The marine industries of the islands are important. Turtle-shell and pearls are exported, and fish are caught for home consumption; but of more account is the sponge-fishery, which furnishes employment to some five thousand men and boys, besides the three hundred men and women engaged in clipping, sorting and packing. The export of sponges in 1920 was worth nearly £150,000.

The Bahamas sponges are of coarser fibre than those found in the Mediterranean, and therefore do not command such high prices; but the "sheep's wool" variety is unrivalled for its durability, and is soft as well as tough.

At one time salt-raking was, as in the neighbouring Turks Islands, an extensive and profitable industry; but it has been practically killed by the duty imposed in the United States.

In old days wrecking was an occupation from which the inhabitants of some of the islands reaped considerable advantage. This, of course, is a thing of the past. But the islands, lying as they do on a great trade-route, are still a danger to shipping and "probably send home more returns of wrecks to the Board of Trade than any other British colony." The danger, however, has been very greatly diminished by an admirable series of lighthouses, which is maintained by the Imperial Government.

Nassau, the capital, on the island of New Providence, has a safe harbour and is a very popular health-resort with good sea-bathing. The principal public buildings of the colony are situated there, and its old forts are interesting survivals from the dangerous days of the eighteenth century. Nassau is the first port of call for the steamships which now run between Canada and the western Caribbean islands. The establishment of this service is one of the results of the recent conference at Ottawa, when a preferential tariff between the colony and the Dominions was arranged.

The income of the Bahamas is derived mainly from import and tonnage duties. A heavy debt was incurred when the Public Bank failed in 1885, but the financial position of the colony is on the whole satisfactory (public debt, £36,000). For the four years before the Great War the annual budgets showed a credit balance.

JAMAICA

With a total area of 4,193 square miles, Jamaica is the largest and most important of the British West India islands. Its length, from east to west, is 144 miles, and its greatest breadth, from north to south, 49 miles. Lying south of the far larger island of Cuba, its position is unique, in that it is the one island of any considerable size which does not form part of, but is well inside, the circle of the Antilles. This fact has had no little influence on the course of its history.

Jamaica is very mountainous. A main range runs from west to east, rising in the east to the famous Blue Mountains, of which the highest peak is 7,360 feet. This gives rise to a number of secondary ranges. Between the mountains lie many fertile valleys and plains, but the only extensive low-lying areas are in the southern part of the island. In the south, too, are the best harbours, Kingston and Old Harbour, though all parts of the irregular coast afford shelter to shipping. There are many rivers; indeed the name Jamaica, or Xaymaca, is supposed to mean "well-watered"; but for the most part they are too narrow, too rapid in their course or too irregularly supplied with water to be navigable. In some parts of the island irrigation works have been constructed with great benefit to the fertility of the soil, but there is still much need of development in this respect.

Columbus discovered Jamaica in 1494 and visited it again in 1503, on his fourth and last voyage; when, sick and deserted by his own men, he stayed there for more than a year, tended by the natives. The place of his second landing is still known as Don Christopher's Cove; but the name which he gave the island, St. Iago, never superseded the native name. After the great explorer's death Jamaica was colonised on behalf of his son Diego, who, according to the original but ill-kept promise of King Ferdinand, had a right to the government of all the lands which his father had discovered.

At first the work of colonisation seems to have been carried on with vigour and intelligence. Towns were built—Sevilla, which was subsequently destroyed either by pirates or by revolted natives, and St. Iago de la Vega, now known as Spanish Town; the natives were employed in agriculture; and a considerable trade, chiefly in hides and hog's grease, was opened with Cuba and the Spanish main. But, not finding the precious metals which were the great object of their quest in the New World, the Spaniards ere long lost interest in the island; its trade fell into decay, its native population was exterminated, and its coasts were left undefended against the attacks of foreign raiders.

Spanish Town was plundered by the English under Sir Antony Shirley in 1597; and in 1635 an expedition from the Windward Islands took Port Royal, but did no more than exact payment of ransom. Neither of these forays is of more than incidental account, but in 1655 the "sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons," which had been sent by Cromwell to conquer Hispaniola (Hayti) but had failed ignominiously in that enterprise, gave Jamaica permanently to England, whose right to that and her other West Indian possessions was formally recognised by the Treaty of Madrid in 1670.

Neither the conquest nor the first attempts at settling the island, however, make a very bright page of English history. Ill-commanded and ill-provisioned, the invaders succeeded by virtue rather of the weakness of the enemy than of their own strength. Once established they made no attempt to develop the resources of the island, but gave themselves up to idleness or the pursuit of plunder. The results were famine and disease and bitter complaining.

Nevertheless Cromwell was determined to maintain his new colony. By offering them exemption from taxation he endeavoured to encourage settlers. He applied for them to New England and the island plantations—Nevis, Barbados, the Bermudas, to Scotland and to Ireland. Nor was he very particular as to the quality of the immigrants. Not only political prisoners but criminals were transported; and it was even proposed to send a contingent of women from the London brothels.

But although some of the Protector's schemes may have been ill-advised and some proved fruitless, before his death Jamaica was already beginning to be populous and prosperous. The Restoration brought an influx of discontented Parliamentarians; and thence onwards, for nearly a hundred years, the population of the island was increased by the periodical arrival of political refugees.

It was the buccaneers, however, who did most for Jamaica. "In the eyes of the West Indian freebooters here was a rich, well-harboured, half-empty island, lately taken from the Spaniards, open to all other peoples, where they would be welcomed as foes of Spain, and where they would find a fleet and army ready for fighting, if not for planting, already engaged at once in defending their conquest and in retaliating upon the Spanish main. Situated, as the island was, well inside the ring of the Spanish possessions, the English occupation of Jamaica was a godsend to the buccaneers, while their privateering trade was exactly suited to the restless soldiers who formed the large bulk of the early colonists. So Port Royal became in a few years a great emporium of ill-gotten wealth, and the man who sacked Panama became Sir Henry Morgan, Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica."[1]

In 1661 Jamaica, which until that date had been under martial law, received a civil constitution, and three years later the first elected Assembly met. But before very long conflict arose between this body and the home authorities. Provoked by the independent spirit of the colonists, who asserted their privileges, accorded them by Royal proclamation as free English citizens, the English Government attempted to treat the Assembly as a mere court for the registration of laws drawn up and approved in London. The attempt was naturally resented and resisted. The Assembly refused to accept the London-made laws; and in 1680 the right of legislation was restored to them. A proviso was made, however, that no law passed in Jamaica could come into force until it had received the Royal assent; and that assent was very rarely given. The position therefore was actually but little improved; and it was not until 1728 that, in return for the settlement of £8,000 yearly on the Crown, the whole body of laws which had been passed in Jamaica was generally and retrospectively confirmed.

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[1] Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, vol. ii (West Indies), p. 102.

In one way the island suffered from its size. At the time of its conquest by the English large numbers of the negro slaves of the Spaniards, rather than submit to new masters, fled into the mountainous interior, where they remained to become a constant thorn in the side of the colonists. Neither force nor bribery could dislodge these Maroons, as they were called; and their numbers were increased by the slaves who from time to time ran away from the English. Between these new-comers and the original fugitives, however, there was never a real amalgamation; and it was among the former that there arose a leader of considerable ability, a certain Cudjoe, who organised his followers and for some forty years kept the colonists in a state of justifiable anxiety. Nor was he defeated until negro and Indian as well as white troops were brought against him, and even then he was able to make favourable terms. By the treaty which was signed in 1738 the freedom of the Maroon negroes was guaranteed, and special land was assigned to them as a reservation, where they were to live under their own rulers assisted by English advisers; and in return they were to give help to the Government in case of invasion or rebellion. This treaty and the similar one which was made with the eastern, or original, Maroons, on the whole worked very well; and it was not until 1795 that serious trouble again occurred.

The precise cause of this, the last, Maroon war is not altogether clear. It is said to have been the flogging by, and in the presence of, slaves, of two Maroons who had been convicted of theft. But a spirit of unrest had been generated by the French Revolution, and had already come to a head in St. Domingo; and very little was needed to kindle the flame. The outbreak, which took place mainly in the north-west, was promptly dealt with; the efforts of the English soldiers were supplemented by hunters and bloodhounds brought from Cuba, and the rebels were soon obliged to surrender. According to the terms granted to them, they were not to be banished from the island provided that they surrendered without delay; but the days of grace allowed them were so few that many failed to keep to the letter of the treaty, and some six hundred were sent to Nova Scotia.

The Maroons who had not taken part in the war of 1795 retained their old privileges and after the emancipation became "entitled to enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities of British subjects." Their conditions of life became gradually assimilated to those of the other inhabitants of the island, though even to this day they form a distinctive element in the population.

That the Maroons, for all the trouble they gave to the Government, were not altogether detrimental to the welfare of the colony is the opinion held by so high an authority on colonial questions as Sir Charles Lucas. "Dangerous as the Maroons were in past time to the peace of Jamaica," he writes, "they were yet a healthy element in its history. It was something for the island community not to be composed entirely of slaveholders and slaves, but to include also a class of black men who had inherited freedom almost from time immemorial, who had made their own terms with the Government, and who, for generation after generation, had lived in their mountain homes a life of recognised liberty. It was good for the white race to have to treat with coloured men as equals, to range them on the side of law and authority, not by compulsion, but by contract, in which there was give and take on both sides; and it was good for the black race to see that negroes were not necessarily doomed to bondage, and through the dark days of slavery to find in men of their own colour an example of determined independence and savage self-respect." [1]

The growth of the prosperity of Jamaica was only checked by the great earthquake of 1692 which destroyed Port Royal and was the occasion of an unsuccessful French invasion; and Kingston, which replaced Port Royal as the first city of the island, became in the eighteenth century the commercial and military centre of the British West Indies. Thither came the slaves from Africa and the logwood from Honduras; and thence sailed the ships which were to fight the Spaniards or the French.

Nowhere was there more stubborn hostility shown towards emancipation than among the Jamaican planters. Nor is this surprising. The slave population had reached 300,000, or ten times as many as the white inhabitants, and the great sugar industry, which had been growing in importance since the seventeenth century, was entirely dependent on slave labour. Eventually, of course, the planters had to submit to the inevitable ; but their fears on the commercial issue were justified, and the sugar industry received a lasting injury, which was ere long to be aggravated by abolition of the tariff which favoured colonial produce.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 109.

The wane of the island's prosperity was the result, and the affairs of Jamaica remained in an unsatisfactory condition, which was not appreciably bettered by the reorganisation of the Constitution in 1854, until the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865.

This rebellion was, according to Sir Charles Lucas, " a crisis in which modern difficulties, arising out of the relations of landlord and tenant and of employer and workman, were mixed up with the old conflict of race and colour," and " in a sense a link between the negro insurrections, which belonged to the past and were the fruit of slavery, and the complications connected with land and labour, which belong to the present and are the common unhappy inheritance of all communities." It only lasted a few days, but the drastic methods employed by Governor Eyre in its suppression were long the subject of indignant protest and as ardent support. John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer and Huxley were among those who attacked the Governor, while his defenders included Carlyle, Kingsley, Tennyson and Ruskin. The Royal Commission appointed by Lord John Russell to enquire into his conduct found that he had handled a difficult and dangerous situation with commendable promptitude, but that he had shown undue severity in reprisals, and he was both thanked and censured by Parliament. He was also recalled from his governorate.

The sequel to the Morant Bay rebellion was that Jamaica became, by the desire of the colonists themselves, a Crown Colony, with a Legislative Council to be appointed by the Sovereign. In 1884, however, this arrangement was revised and the elective principle reintroduced in a modified form. Under the new Constitution there was to be a Governor ; a Privy Council with executive functions and composed of both ex-officio and nominated members ; and a Legislative Council consisting of the Governor and four other ex-officio members, not more than five nominated members and nine elected members. By an amending order of 1895 the number of the ex-officio members of the Legislative Council was increased to five besides the Governor, of the nominated members to not more than ten, and of the elected members to fourteen. Women were enfranchised in 1919. The life of the Council is limited to five years.

This Constitution is still in force, but there is a strong movement on foot to change it. At the elections held early in 1920 every member was returned with a mandate to work to that end; and a committee was subsequently formed to prepare a memorial to the Colonial Office asking that a Royal Commission should be appointed to enquire into the political conditions in Jamaica. As a contributor to *The Times* (December 3, 1920), who has evidently formed his opinion on the spot, says: "This experiment in Crown Colony government has proved expensive. Nor can the enlargement of 1895 be considered an improvement. The Privy Council is an added burden. It is made up of officials, the commander of the forces, and a couple of planters. There is no representation of the people at its sittings, no one to advise on matters deeply affecting the taxpayer or check extravagance. In the hands of the Privy Council the Governor himself is more or less a puppet. However well disposed or otherwise he may be to projects of legislation, he must act clearly on the advice of the Council, though, as it is continually urged in the colony, this body does not represent the people of Jamaica as a whole."

In Jamaica, as elsewhere in the West Indies, it is felt that the days of the Crown Colony system are numbered, and that those of home rule, whether on a federal basis or otherwise, have arrived.

In addition to the central Government there are also elective parochial boards with jurisdiction over local matters such as roads, markets, poor relief and sanitation. This local administration is under the general control of a board of supervision and is financed from the proceeds of direct taxation.

These direct taxes are levied on property, horses, carriages, etc. The main revenue of the colony is derived from import duties on food-stuffs and alcohol, an *ad valorem* duty, the excise on rum, stamps and licences. As a general rule the annual revenue exceeds the expenditure.

Although sugar is not of the paramount importance that it was in the life of the country a hundred years ago, it still takes a high place in the list of industries. In 1920, for instance, there were about 54,000 acres under sugar cultivation, and the export amounted to the value of £2,994,000. Recently, moreover, the Government has been turning its attention to the further development of the industry, and at the beginning of the present year (1923) a large factory was being erected. The chief centres of sugar cultivation are on the north coast, in the parishes of St. James and Trelawney, in Westmoreland at the west end of the island and in the district of Vere to the extreme south. The best rum—that is to say, the finest in the world—comes from the northern plantations.

Coffee is grown mainly in the Blue Mountains, but the large plantations have for the most part disappeared and the cultivation is confined to small-holdings.

Fruit is now the principal article of export, and among fruit bananas (£12,000) hold the first place. Second to bananas come oranges, and limes, grape-fruit, pineapples and mangoes are also grown. The main fruit districts are in the parishes of St. Mary and St. Catherine. Other vegetable products of commercial importance are cocoa, coco-nuts, tobacco, cinchona, ginger, pimento and logwood. There is an important establishment for the production of logwood extract at Spanish Town; and the Government has 150 acres under cinchona. Quite recently a commencement has been made with the cultivation of cotton; there are about 45 acres of land so employed, and nearly 30,000 lb. were exported in 1920.

Cattle are raised chiefly in St. Ann's parish and at the western end of the island, beyond Montego Bay and Black River; and though there is little export, Jamaica is well off for fresh meat as compared with the other West Indian islands. There is a good breed of horses, and bees are kept to a considerable extent. There are two Government-owned stock-farms, and the erection of a condensed-milk factory under State control has been proposed.

Agriculture is encouraged by a Board of Agriculture, which has an experimental station at Hope, and by an agricultural society which has about 30 branches. Though there are about 18,000 coolies and 4,000 Chinese, labour is mainly dependent on the negroes, who form more than three-quarters of a population of 830,000, of which only 14,500 consist of white men, besides 157,000 "coloured." The negroes, though they may cultivate their own holdings, can with difficulty be induced to give more than four days a week to their employers. They can in that time earn enough to supply their immediate needs, and they are little prone to think of laying up provision for the future. The growth of accounts in the Government savings-bank, however, suggests that a more thrifty spirit is beginning to obtain. As a means of discouraging the emigration which of late years has been proceeding (especially to Cuba) on a great scale, and of developing the resources of the colony, the Government is now doing its best to create a landed peasantry by buying up land and re-selling it in small holdings on advantageous terms.

Jamaica is certainly possessed of considerable mineral wealth, but a thorough survey has never yet been made. Various metals—gold, iron, lead, manganese and zinc—have been found, though not in commercial quantities, and copper was at one time mined in the Clarendon Mountains. On the other hand the value of the earths, clay, lime and ochre is well established, and a Government cement factory will ere long be at work.

Education is well looked after by the Jamaican Government. There are nearly 700 elementary schools, and secondary and technical education has lately been receiving attention. A Board of Education was established in 1892, and there are parish and district school boards. Jamaica benefits under the will of Cecil Rhodes and sends one scholar yearly to Oxford. The Government also awards scholarships to the value of £600.

There is a medical service of which the members are paid by the Government and have to attend sick paupers, parochial hospitals, almshouses and prisons, and members of the constabulary.

That constabulary, which was modelled on the Royal Irish Constabulary, has an authorised strength of 20 officers, 1,038 sub-officers and men, and 1,055 district constables.

There are 200 miles of railway, which were formerly in the hands of a private company but have now been taken over by the Government. Lines run from Kingston to Montego Bay in the north-west, Port Antonio in the north-east and Ewarton in the interior. There are in addition more than two thousand miles of main roads, " the condition of which will bear favourable comparison with those in many European countries."

Kingston, the capital of the colony, is the largest town in the British West Indies, though its population (57,000) is a little less than that of Port-of-Spain in Trinidad. The seat of government only for the last half-century, it is a modern town, and after the great earthquake of 1907 it was rebuilt on lines of mathematical precision. Parts of the old parish church, however, which was originally built at the end of the seventeenth century, still remain. This church is notable as the burial-place of Admiral Benbow, whose monument is in the chancel.

Port Royal, at the extreme end of the spit of sand known as the Palisadoes, which encloses Kingston Harbour, is of greater historical interest; though it, too, has suffered frequently by earthquake, fire and hurricane. At Fort Charles, where Nelson commanded in 1779, the great seaman's quarters are still as he left them, and the early eighteenth-century church is full of naval and military monuments.

Spanish Town, the former capital, has the air of a town which has fallen from greatness. Many fine buildings bear witness to the position which it once held, and its cathedral, built in 1714 on the site of the one which was destroyed by the hurricane of 1692, is the oldest in any of the British colonies.

Montego Bay is now the second largest town in Jamaica, and Port Antonio has grown with the banana trade.

The public finance of Jamaica is naturally on a considerably larger scale than that of the other West Indian colonies. The debt at present stands at about £4,000,000, and the annual budget averages well over two millions. The customs furnish about 40 per cent. of the revenue. In 1921 the total value of the exports of the colony was about £7,146,000; that of the imports £10,300,000.

THE TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS

Geographically, as for a time they did administratively, the Turks and Caicos Islands belong to the Bahamas group; the Caicos Islands lying on an extensive bank divided from Mariguana, the south-easternmost of the Bahamas, by the Caicos Passage, while the Turks Islands, again to the south-east, are divided from the Caicos by another passage, to which they give their name.

The total area of the two groups is 169 square miles, and their population about 5,600, of which a third live on Grand Turk, which, with an area of 10 square miles, is the largest of these islands. Salt Cay in the Turks group and Cockburn Harbour on South Caicos are the other principal settlements.

Grand Turk is one of the islands which is supposed to have been the scene of Columbus' first landing, but its claim is not now supported by the most competent authorities. Be that as it may, no one thought it worth their while to occupy any of the islands until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when adventurers from the Bermudas were attracted thither by the potentialities of their salt-ponds. For forty years or so they paid annual visits unmolested, but in 1710 they were attacked and driven away by the Spaniards. Returning, however, with that hardihood which has already been noted as a characteristic of the Bermudans, they continued to collect salt in spite of persistent Spanish interference, until in 1764 they found a new enemy in the French from St. Domingo, who took some of them prisoners.

This event moved the British Government to make a more definite assertion of their claim to the islands. An agent was sent from Nassau; and a connection with the Bahamas was thus established which received official recognition in 1799, when the Turks and Caicos Islands were granted representation in the Bahamas Assembly. The Bermudans were not unnaturally annoyed, but the arrangement continued until 1848, when, on the petition of the inhabitants, the twin group was given its own government under the supervision of Jamaica. In 1873 the relationship of the smaller islands to the larger was more clearly defined, and their dependence thereon increased.

By the Act then passed, and still in force, the Turks and Caicos Islands were given a Legislative Board to consist of the Commissioner and Judge (the two offices being held by one person) and not less than two or more than four other members appointed by the Governor of Jamaica. This board has power to deal, subject to the concurrence of the Jamaican Government, with taxation, expenditure and all local matters; while the Legislative Council of Jamaica can pass laws which shall be effective in the islands.

Although their situation is remote and they are handicapped by the scarcity of fresh water, the Turks and Caicos Islands are by no means unprosperous, and the local budget (£11,000 in 1920) usually shows a balance on the credit side. As in the seventeenth century, salt-raking is their main industry, the export reaching a million or a million and a half bushels yearly, with a value of about £20,000. It goes principally to the United States. Sponges are collected on the Caicos bank, cured on the islands and exported, and there is also some trade in cave-earth and pink pearls. Within recent years the cultivation of sisal fibre has been introduced and is reported to be making good progress. Nearly all food and other necessities of life have to be imported; in 1920 the value of the imports was nearly £60,000, while the exports only reached something over £46,000.

THE CAYMAN ISLANDS

The Cayman Islands, which Columbus, their first European visitor, called Las Tortugas, from the turtles which still give them their principal industry, are three low and heavily-wooded coral islands, of which the largest, Grand Cayman, some 17 miles long and 4 to 7 in breadth, lies 178 miles to the north-west of Jamaica, and the others, Little Cayman and Cayman Brac, both about 10 miles wide by 1 broad, some 70 miles to the north-east of Grand Cayman. The population of Grand Cayman, which has some very fair harbours, is rather under 4,000 ; that of Cayman Brac about 1,200, and that of Little Cayman only 95. The percentage of white inhabitants is in all unusually high.

First colonised, it is supposed, by buccaneers of British origin, these islands have always been closely connected with Jamaica, to whose Government an Imperial Act of 1863 made them directly subject. They have a Legislative Assembly composed of justices of the peace and elected vestrymen, which is empowered to make by-laws, but these cannot be enforced until they have received the assent of the Governor of Jamaica; while the Jamaican Government is entitled to make laws for the Caymans.

As already mentioned, the chief industry of the islands is the capture of turtles, which are fattened in " kraals " and sent, to the number of about 5,000 yearly, to Jamaica, whence they are exported. In Grand Cayman there is a certain amount of cultivation of the ordinary tropical products, and there are considerable quantities of valuable timber, such as cedar and mahogany, and also of dye-woods. The inhabitants are notably skilful shipwrights and build wooden schooners both for their own use and for sale. Phosphate deposits have also been worked, but in recent years have been somewhat neglected. On the two smaller islands coco-nuts are the chief form of marketable vegetation.

THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

The Leeward Islands,[1] which form, for administrative purposes, a single colony, include, taking them in their order from north to south, the Virgin Islands, a group of tiny, for the most part mountainous, islands, of which the most important are Anegada, Virgin Gorda, Tortola and Jost Van Dyke; St. Christopher (or St. Kitts) and Nevis, forming one presidency, which includes Anguilla; Antigua, with its dependencies Barbuda and Redonda; Montserrat; and Dominica. The total area of the colony is rather over 700 square miles, the largest island—and one of the most beautiful in all the Caribbean Sea—being Dominica, with an area of 305 square miles; the next in size being Antigua with 108 and St. Kitts with 65 square miles. With the exception of parts of Antigua, the islands are of volcanic origin and characteristically rugged.

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[1] " The name Leeward Islands is, of course, derived from the Trade wind, but it is liable to lead to some confusion, as it has become arbitrarily fixed to a particular administrative group of English islands. In early days the Spaniards called the Greater Antilles the leeward, and the Lesser Antilles the windward islands, a perfectly natural division, but the term leeward gradually

Although most of these islands were discovered and named by Columbus, the Spaniards made no settlements on them; and it was not until a certain Thomas Warner landed at St. Kitts in 1623 that their connection with Europe definitely began. Warner built a fort and planted tobacco and two years later was made the King's Lieutenant not only of St. Kitts but also of Nevis, Barbados and Montserrat, which were taken under Royal protection.

The Leeward Islands were included in the grant made by Charles I to the Earl of Carlisle, which was the cause of so much controversy (see under Barbados, p. 269), and until 1671 they were included with Barbados under a single government. Not all the islands which now form the colony, however, came immediately into English possession. Antigua, Nevis and Montserrat were colonised from St. Kitts; but the Virgin Islands were in the hands of the Dutch buccaneers until the reign of Charles II, and Dominica, though nominally left to the native Caribs, was mainly under French influence, and was only definitely assigned to England by the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

St. Kitts itself was for long shared between English and French. On the very day (it is said) of Warner's second landing, Desnambuc, a French privateer, also arrived there; and an agreement was come to by which he and Warner divided the island between them, the Englishman taking the central

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spread to the Virgin Islands, and even to islands farther east. It was early found convenient to distinguish between Barbados and the more northerly group of English islands, which [latter], from their proximity to the Spanish 'leeward' islands, were soon called in official documents 'His Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands.' The term 'Leeward Islands' by itself to signify this group does not come into general use in official documents till much later, while the use of 'Windward' as referring to a political group of English islands is comparatively modern." (C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration*, p. xii.)

part and the Frenchman the two extremities. They further agreed that war between their countries should make no difference to their friendly relations—an arrangement which, fortified by danger from the Caribs, lasted until 1666, when the French made themselves masters of the whole island and subsequently of Antigua and Montserrat. They were driven from the two latter islands in the following year, and by the Treaty of Breda the dual ownership of St. Kitts was restored; but on the resumption of war in 1689 the French were once more victorious, and thence onwards the island was the scene of a doubtful struggle until, in 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht gave the whole of it to Great Britain. During the war of 1778 all the Leeward Islands except Antigua fell once more into the hands of the French, but they were restored at the Treaty of Versailles (1783); and in 1795 and 1805 unsuccessful French attempts were made on Dominica, which, from its traditional French sympathies and its proximity to Guadeloupe, was particularly liable to attack.

By the Leeward Islands Act of 1870 the whole group of islands was federated under one Government, though the local Legislatures still kept certain powers. This was not an entirely new departure, but rather the revival of an old custom, for from the time of William and Mary to the end of the eighteenth century there had been a General Assembly, though it seems to have met only at rare intervals. Since 1899 the Federal Council has consisted of eight official and eight unofficial members. The latter comprise three representatives from Antigua, three from St. Kitts-Nevis and two from Dominica: they are, and must remain, members of the Councils of their respective islands, and are elected by their colleagues on those Councils.

The seat of the Federal Government is Antigua, where the Governor resides; being represented in St. Kitts-Nevis and Dominica by administrators, and in Montserrat and the Virgin Islands by commissioners.

"The [Federal] Legislative Council has concurrent legislative powers with the local legislatures on certain subjects specified in the Act, such as matters of property, mercantile and criminal law, the law relating to status, the maintenance of a general police force and a common convict establishment, quarantine, postal and telegraph affairs, currency, audit, weights and measures, education and the care of lunatics, all matters relating to immigration, copyright and patents, and its own constitution and procedure. Any island legislature is competent, in addition, to declare other matters to be within the competency of the General Legislature. Any island enactment on the subject is void if repugnant to an enactment of the General Legislature, or may at any time be repealed or altered by one."[1]

There are four local Legislative Councils. That of Antigua consists of sixteen members and those of St. Kitts-Nevis and Dominica of twelve each, the numbers of official members and of unofficial members nominated by the Crown being in every case equal. In Montserrat the Council, which has existed since 1867, consists of six nominated members. The Virgin Islands have no Legislative Council, only an Executive. The Crown Colony system has existed in St. Kitts-Nevis since 1877; in Antigua and Dominica only since 1898, when the Representative Assemblies of those islands voluntarily abrogated themselves.

The chief product of Antigua, on which St. John's, the capital of the colony, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants, is situated, is sugar. The industry is carried on largely on the co-operative system, and this has done much for its prosperity. There is a factory at Galthorpe, which commenced operations under a Government guarantee in 1904. Thither the growers bring their cane and they receive a share in the profits. Many of them have been enabled to become part owners, and with surplus profits an estate has been purchased in Trinidad. So successful, indeed, has been the enterprise, that the output of sugar has been doubled since the inauguration of the factory. The area under cane is now about 16,000 acres, but there is still a great deal of cultivable land on the island which was allowed to go to waste in the past and has not yet been reclaimed. Some cotton and pineapples are exported.

Included in the government of Antigua are the small islands of Barbuda and Redonda. In the former salt and phosphates of lime are produced; there is some stock-rearing, and within recent years cotton has been introduced and promises good results. Wild deer, which are now rare in the West Indies, are still found on Barbuda.

Redonda, which is merely a barren rock, is leased to the Redonda Phosphates Company, and about 7,000 tons of phosphate of alumina are annually shipped thence to the United States.

In 1920–21 the revenue of Antigua was £106,700; the expenditure was £93,000; and the public debt amounted to about £120,000. The exports during the same period were valued at £375,000, the imports at £328,000.

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[1] *Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, iv, 326.

The allied islands of St. Kitts and Nevis are very similar in character and therefore in their products. Sugar, with molasses and rum, is their chief source of wealth, and about 16,000 acres are under cane. Sea Island cotton is also being grown to a considerable extent, not only on the two larger islands but on their smaller dependency, Anguilla, 580,000 lb. having been exported in 1918. Tobacco has occupied the attention of some planters, and arrowroot, coffee and various vegetables are grown for home consumption. In Nevis, as in Antigua, coco-nuts have recently been introduced, and may develop into an important industry. Cattle, horses and small stock are bred. The value of the exports from the two islands was in 1920 considerably in excess of the imports, £770,000 to £510,000.

The revenue of the Presidency in 1920 was £91,500, just two-thirds of which came from the customs, and the expenditure was £106,000. The debt stood at £38,600.

Dominica is an island of great possibilities which are very far from having been fully developed. It has a rich soil and abundant rainfall, and is well watered; but no less than 130,000 acres of land are still uncultivated. Moreover, many of the old coffee plantations, being destroyed by blight or by marauding outlaws from the interior, were abandoned and have never been replanted. The chief commercial products at present are cocoa, coco-nuts and limes, the last-named being put on the market mainly in the form of lime-juice and citrate of lime, though the fresh fruit is also exported. A volcanic island, Dominica, has many springs with medicinal properties.

An important step towards the development of the island was taken in 1898, when a sum of £15,000 was granted by the Imperial Government for the purpose of road-making. This fund was expended on a good trunk road which leads from the coast, near Roseau, the capital, to Bassinterre, in the very centre of the island, so that the wooded interior is far more easily accessible than of old.

The population of Dominica is interesting as comprising a remnant of the pure Carib stock.

In 1920–21 the revenue amounted to £59,200 and the expenditure to £58,700. Exports were worth £231,000, imports £286,000.

Lime-juice, again, has of recent years constituted the most important industry of Montserrat, reckoned to be the healthiest island in the Antilles; but the cultivation of limes appears to be declining, while that of Sea Island cotton, introduced in 1901 (or rather reintroduced, for it was grown to some extent during the American Civil War), is steadily increasing: 372,730 lb. of lint were exported in 1918. Coffee and cocoa are other old crops which are being revived. On the other hand, the sugar industry, once all-important, has practically ceased to exist, the shipments in 1918 reaching only 41 tons. The total value of exports in 1920 was £208,000; while the import figures reached £111,000.

The revenue of Montserrat in 1920–21 was £19,000 as against an expenditure of £21,000. The public debt stood at £11,000.

The Virgin Islands stand rather apart from the other members of the federated colony. More remote from the highways of commerce, small and barren, their trade is almost exclusively with their neighbour St. Thomas, once a Danish but now an American possession. A little sugar is still grown, and here as elsewhere the recently introduced cotton is proving a success; a ginnery has been erected by the Imperial Agricultural Department. Coco-nut planting has also been introduced within the last few years. The export figures are fair, reaching about £24,000 in 1920–21; while goods to nearly twice that value had to be imported. The inhabitants are for the most part peasant proprietors, engaged in cattle-raising—for there is excellent pasturage of guinea-grass—and in fishing. They are reputed the most skilful seamen in the Caribbean, and have been described as "a hardy, intelligent race, remarkably distinct from the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands."

BARBADOS

Barbados is the easternmost of the West Indian islands, lying somewhat outside the main circle. With an area of about 166 square miles, in shape it is roughly triangular; hilly, especially in the north-east (the Scotland district); badly watered, owing to the porosity of the soil, and lacking in natural harbours; but one of the healthiest of the islands for Europeans. Its population is about 198,000, of which 90 per cent. are negro.

Though the Portuguese are said to have come there in the sixteenth century, leaving behind them, as the Spaniards did at Bermuda, a herd of pigs, and the Spaniards to have kidnapped the inhabitants to work in their mines, Barbados was not colonised until, in 1605, Sir Olave Leigh, a Kentish knight, set up a cross which proclaimed King James I to be ruler of the island. Leigh did not stay, but the island attracted the attention of Sir William Courten, who in 1625 or 1627—there is authority for both dates—sent out an expedition to make a settlement.

The outstanding feature of the early history of Barbados is the complicated question of its proprietorship. Courten acted under the patronage of the Earl of Marlborough, who had received a grant from James I which included Barbados. In July 1627, however, a grant of all the Caribbean Islands except Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, was made to the Earl of Carlisle; while in 1628 the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery was given the islands of " Trinidado, Tabago, Barbudos and Fonseca." Disputes naturally followed, but eventually Marlborough was induced to waive his claim in consideration of an annuity of £300 to himself and his heirs, and it was decided by the Lord Keeper that Pembroke's claim was invalid and that Carlisle had the sole right to the islands.

In 1647, Carlisle having died heavily in debt, his heirs leased the islands to Lord Willoughby of Parham for twenty-one years, reserving half the profits for payment to the late earl's creditors. Willoughby proceeded to Barbados, but when, as related below, the supporters of the Commonwealth became predominant in the island, the Royalist Governor was constrained to leave. At the Restoration he reasserted his claim, but the Marlborough annuity and the payments due to the creditors were heavily in arrears, and the settlers, unwilling that their island should once more become a bone of contention among absentee noblemen, petitioned for the extinction of all proprietary rights. The Privy Council's solution of the problem was elaborate; but what it amounted to was that, after the termination of Willoughby's lease and the satisfaction of the Marlborough annuitants and the Carlisle creditors, the profits from the islands, with the exception of a perpetual yearly payment of £1,000 to Carlisle's heirs, were to revert to the Crown. The colonists thus got their way, but the price they paid was a heavy one—no less than an export duty of 4½ per cent. on all commodities. And this duty continued, in spite of repeated remonstrances, to be exacted from all the islands included in the original Carlisle patent until it was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1838.

Meanwhile the work of developing the island was being prosecuted with vigour and success. At first there was trouble between Courten's settlers and those who went out at the invitation of Carlisle, but on the recognition of the earl's proprietary rights the old colonists were obliged to submit. As a mere unit of the Caribbean group, Barbados was at first under the authority of Carlisle's lieutenant, who resided at St. Kitts, but it had its own resident Governors, and before the middle of the seventeenth century its elected Assembly. Its trade at this time was flourishing, largely on account of the Dutch connection established by the half-Dutch Courten and maintained by the position of the island on the route from Europe to the Spanish main, commerce with which was almost entirely in Dutch hands. It was the Dutch who about 1640 introduced sugar into Barbados, where previously only tobacco of poor quality, cotton and ginger had been cultivated.

When the differences which were eventually to lead to civil war began to trouble England, Barbados became a place of refuge for many English gentlemen whose Royalist sympathies stopped short of an inclination to stay at home and fight in the King's cause—" men who," as Clarendon puts it, " had retired thither only to be quiet and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King." Their love of peace, however, did not make them submit without a struggle to the Commonwealth; and on the execution of Charles the succession of his son was proclaimed and the principal local adherents of Cromwell were fined and banished. Willoughby, the Governor, indeed, counselled a conciliatory attitude; but he was overruled by the extremists, and Cromwell was moved to prohibit the trade between Barbados and the Dutch and to send a fleet, under Sir George Ayscue, to bring the " rebels " to book. They made a sturdy resistance, however, and it was not until Modyford, afterwards Governor, went over to the Parliamentary side with 1,000 men that they surrendered. As it was, the articles of capitulation were a virtual triumph for the Royalists.

The later history of the island is singularly uneventful. For a time it remained the most prosperous of the West Indian colonies; but gradually, though it has never fallen into decay, it felt the effect of various adverse circumstances—the 4½ per cent. duty, the privileged position of the great trading companies, the competition of Jamaica, the exhaustion of its soil. Like most of the other islands, it suffered periodically from hurricanes (notably in 1675, 1780 and 1831), epidemics and slave insurrections. But it was rich enough in men and resources to help to colonise the other islands and also, in the many struggles with the French, who never once gained a footing in Barbados itself, to assist in their defence.

Barbados is one of those colonies which have representative institutions without responsible government. Apart from the House of Commons the House of Assembly is the oldest body of the kind, except that of the Bermudas, within the British Empire. It is composed of twenty-four members, elected on a somewhat restricted franchise, and, subject to the Governor's veto, has the last word in all matters of finance and legislation. There is, however, an Executive Committee, consisting of the Governor, the Executive Council and five members of the Legislature, which initiates financial measures. The Legislative Council consists of nine members who are nominated by the Crown, two of the number being Government officials.

More than any other of the West Indies, Barbados has remained a sugar-producing colony. The industry was started in the seventeenth century and has been carried on without interruption until the present day. The total production is actually less than in Trinidad, the Leeward Islands or British Guiana, but in proportion to the total area of the island it is greater than in any of those colonies. The area under canes is said to be about 35,000 acres, and there are about 200 sugar-works. The sugar is mostly the brown "muscovado" variety. In **1920** the export of dry sugar was **34,700** tons and of molasses 6,700,000 gallons, Canada being the largest purchaser. Very little rum is now exported.

No other commercial product of Barbados can be compared in importance with sugar, but recently, with the aid of the Colonial Treasury and the British Cotton Growing Association, the cultivation of cotton has made rapid progress. The merits of Sea Island cotton produced in the West Indies have come to be appreciated in Lancashire, and the exports from Barbados average the considerable figure of 800,000 lb. Bananas are also grown, and this crop may develop in the future.

Barbados has comparatively few trees, the forests having been cleared for sugar plantations. Sir Robert Hermann Schomburgk, whose history of the island was published in 1848, described a well-wooded estate (which still exists) as a noteworthy exception to the general rule. "Turner's Hall Wood, a remnant of the tropical forest, clothes a ridge or spur which stretches from the semicircular cliffs to the north-east; it consists almost entirely of locust, cedar, fustic and bully trees: some of these trees are of considerable height, and approach in size those of the equatorial forest. The lover of nature can only indulge the hope that this relic of the former forest may be kept sacred, and may not fall a sacrifice to the all-engrossing sugar-cane."[1]

Nowadays the planting of trees is encouraged by a bounty of twenty shillings for seven years on every acre so planted, and by the exemption from taxation of estates above an acre in extent which are planted with mahogany in accordance with the specifications of a Preservation of Trees Act passed in 1875. Besides mahogany, white-wood, fiddle-wood, manchineel and other trees are planted. "The landscape in Barbados is much improved by the presence of these trees; and when they are planted in groups around the residences dotted about the sugar estates they supply grateful shade and add to the health and comfort of the inhabitants."[2] The island has been described, both as long ago as 1665 and within recent years, as having the appearance of a well-ordered garden.

A potential source of wealth is petroleum, which is known to exist in high-grade quality and outcrops in the Scotland district. Small quantities have already been obtained by drilling, and a certain amount of manjak or pitch-glance, a product of petroleum which is used as a basis of black varnishes and in gas-making, asphalt-paving and electric-cable insulating, has been exported. But geological exploration must precede commercial development.

At one time Barbados, being the point at which the mails between Europe and America met, and also the military headquarters of the British West Indies, did a large distributing trade. But the removal of the military and the improvement in the shipping service have robbed it of this particular significance. Its manufactories, besides sugar factories, include rum distilleries and tobacco, ice and chemical factories. The excellence of its climate and its freedom from malaria have made the island a favourite health-resort, visited not only by inhabitants of the neighbouring but less favoured islands, but also by Americans and Europeans.

In the matter of internal communication Barbados is perhaps better served than any other of the West Indian colonies. There is a railway from Bridgetown to St. Andrews, a distance of 28 miles, which was formerly carried on by a private company with the aid of Government subsidies, but was bought in 1916 by the Government and has since been reconstructed;

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[1] Quoted in the *Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, iv, 383.

[2] Sir Daniel Morris in *Oxford Survey*, iv, 384.

and there is an extensive and well-kept system of roads, of which 474 miles are suitable for motor-traffic.

Barbados is the headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture in the West Indies,[1] which was founded in 1898 as a result of the findings of the Royal Commission appointed two years previously, on the initiation of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, to enquire into the causes of, and suggest remedies for, the depression in the sugar industry. The admirable work of the Department, which has been imitated all over the British Empire and has supplied skilled advisers to several of these new organisations, cannot be better described than in the words of Sir Daniel Morris, its first head :

" The average amount expended from 1898 to 1908 was at the rate of £14,700 per annum. The duties entrusted to the Department were the general improvement of the sugar industry and the encouragement of a system of subsidiary industries in localities where sugar could not be grown or where the conditions were more favourable for the production of cacao, coffee, bananas, oranges, limes, cotton, rubber, coco-nuts, sisal hemp, rice, nutmegs, pine-apples and other crops. In addition, it was proposed it should devote attention to the improvement of the breed and condition of cattle, horses and small stock, and to the extension of bee-keeping for the production of honey and bees-wax.

" The sugar experiments carried on with the assistance of the Department have proved of great service to the planting community in the West Indies. It is estimated that fully one-half of the canes now cultivated in the West Indies are new canes yielding over large areas mean results ranging from 5 to 10 and up to 25 per cent. higher than the old varieties. The grant in aid of sugar experiments from 1898 to 1910 amounted to a total of £58,852. They included £3,852 to British Guiana, £20,000 to Barbados, £14,000 to the Federal Government of the Leeward Islands, £9,000 to the Presidency of St. Kitts-Nevis." [2]

Barbados, in common with Jamaica, Trinidad, British Honduras and the Bermudas, has also its own local Agricultural Department, which in its more restricted field of activity has done very excellent work. Both the sugar and the cotton industries have been much benefited by the organisation of co-operative societies.

Unlike other West Indian colonies, Barbados has no labour problem. Not only has the supply always been adequate without the aid of immigration, but natives of the island have even gone to help its less fortunate neighbours out of their difficulties.

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[1] This is, however, shortly to be removed to Trinidad.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 386, 387.

In the matter of educational institutions Barbados occupies a position of proud pre-eminence among the West Indian colonies, for, in addition to the State-aided schools and colleges which it possesses in common with the other islands, it contains the one institution in the West Indies from which an English university degree can be obtained. This is Codrington College, founded by Christopher Codrington, Governor-General of the Leeward Islands at the beginning of the eighteenth century; who left two sugar estates in trust to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the maintenance of professors and scholars, " all of them to be under the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; who shall be obliged to study and practise physic and chirurgery, as well as divinity; that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may both endear themselves to the people and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls, whilst they are taking care of their bodies." The college was opened in 1745, thirty-five years after its founder's death. At first it was conducted as a grammar school; but in 1834 it was placed on an academic footing and in 1875 was affiliated to Durham University.

Bridgetown, the capital, with a population of 21,000, is a pleasant seaside town, with a safe, though open, roadstead. Its beaches are beautiful and the suburbs, Fontabelle and Hastings, are fashionable watering-places. Bridgetown is the seat of an Anglican bishopric and has a cathedral. The first monument that was raised in honour of Lord Nelson stands in Trafalgar Square. As has been said, the island has no good ports, but at Carlisle Bay there is a prospect of this deficiency being supplied, plans of construction having already been submitted to the Government. Even now the roadstead is a centre of great shipping activity, which there is every likelihood will increase in the future as it has done in the past.

Barbados has a debt of over half a million pounds, but until the War its annual budget had usually for a good many years shown a balance on the credit side, and this was once more the case in 1920–21; in which year the exports of the colony reached a value of £4,865,000 and the imports were worth £5,000,000.

On the whole the present state of the colony is extremely satisfactory. " Barbados," says Sir Charles Lucas, " is an island of which the utmost has been made; almost every available acre of its surface is, and always has been, under careful cultivation; and, if the question were to be asked, how far the capabilities of a land and its people are developed under British rule, it would be well to instance this densely-peopled, richly-cultivated little island, which from the days of the first settlers down to the present moment has, even in times of trouble and distress, been so pre-eminently full of life."[1]

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS

St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada, the three islands which, together with the tiny Grenadines lying between and dependent on one or other of the two latter, form the confederation of colonies known as the Windward Islands, run in a south-westerly direction from the southern extremity of the Leeward group towards the coast of South America. They are very similar to one another in their natural features, being all roughly oval in shape, with their greatest length from north to south, and all of volcanic origin, mountainous and wooded. In St. Vincent is the famous Souffrière Mountain, a disastrous eruption of which took place in 1902, as also in 1812. In St. Lucia is Castries Harbour, one of the best in the West Indies; and there is also a good harbour at St. George's in Grenada. St. Lucia is 238, St. Vincent 147 and Grenada 133 square miles in area. In 1911 the last-named, with a population of 66,750, was, except Barbados, the most thickly populated of the West Indian colonies.

Discovered by the Spaniards, if not by Columbus himself, the Windward Islands were claimed for England under the Carlisle patent (see p. 269) and for France under the charter to the Company of the Islands of America. The English who came to St. Lucia in 1605 and again in 1638 gained no permanent footing; but in 1650 the French established themselves both there and in Grenada, where their rule was marked by the barbarous extermination of the Caribs. In 1664 an expedition from Barbados took St. Lucia, but the island was evacuated two or three years later and the French returned. Thence onward, though the English still laid claim to the island and in 1722 made an unsuccessful attempt on it, St. Lucia remained for nearly a century in the possession of the French, who, however, made little effort to colonise it. St. Vincent, meanwhile, though also a ground of rival claims, was left almost entirely to its native inhabitants; while Grenada, on the other hand, was being peacefully developed by its French settlers.

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[1] Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, ii (West Indies), 202.

The Seven Years' War opened a new epoch in the history of these islands. In 1762 all three fell into the hands of the victorious English, to whom by the Treaty of Paris St. Vincent and Grenada were assigned, St. Lucia being restored to France. Colonisation was now undertaken in earnest. On the English side, a Government of Grenada was formed, comprising not only Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, but also Dominica and Tobago. A native rising in St. Vincent was put down by troops brought from North America.

When war broke out again in 1778 Rodney, recognising the value of Castries Harbour, advised an attack on St. Lucia, and this was successfully made. The French retaliated, however, by taking both St. Vincent and Grenada, and by the Treaty of Versailles all the islands were returned to their former owners. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars St. Lucia changed hands several times, while both there and in the other two islands the natives, infected with the enthusiasm of the hour, caused much trouble. The Peace of Amiens (1802) gave St. Lucia to France, but a year later it fell once more into English hands and has ever since been a British possession.

In 1833 St. Vincent and Grenada, together with Tobago, and in 1838 St. Lucia, were placed under the Governor of Barbados, as, theoretically, they had been in the seventeenth century. This arrangement existed until 1885, when they were separated from Barbados and the seat of government was transferred to Grenada. Four years later Tobago left the group and joined Trinidad. In 1876 the Representative Assemblies of St. Vincent and Grenada were abolished and they became, as St. Lucia had always been, Crown Colonies.

The islands have one Governor-in-Chief, who resides in Grenada and is represented in St. Lucia and St. Vincent by administrators, who also act as Colonial Secretaries; but each has its own Executive and Legislative Council composed of official and unofficial members, a proportion of whom are for the future to be elected. Each island again has its own legal system, those of Grenada and St. Vincent being based on the English common law, while for St. Lucia, where the French element in the population is still strong, a code founded on the Code Civil and the Code Napoléon was drawn up in

1879. There is, however, a common Court of Appeal, which includes Barbados in its jurisdiction. In the conduct of their finances the islands are quite independent of one another, though there is a common audit system.

With their rich volcanic soil and their healthy climates the Windward Islands have great commercial possibilities, which their respective Governments are making admirable efforts to realise. St. Lucia, the largest of them, suffered long from the effects of war and internal disturbance, aggravated by a series of epidemics, but its population is increasing and its industries are developing. Sugar is still its principal crop, and there are four up-to-date *usines* on the island. The export of cocoa increases steadily, and the Government has sought to encourage the cultivation of limes by establishing a factory at Castries where the fresh fruit or the juice may be sold at market rates. An English company has recently acquired 1,000 acres of Crown Lands for the cultivation of bananas. Logwood, cotton, spices and rubber are lesser products of the island, which in 1920 exported goods to the value of nearly £456,000. Imports during the same year amounted to £528,000.

A good deal of the land of St. Lucia is Crown property, and this may be purchased on advantageous terms. Up to fifty acres the price is £1 an acre, with 10*s*. for every additional acre purchased beyond fifty. The price is payable in four equal annual instalments, but if a certain area has been put under cultivation before the final instalment falls due, that instalment is remitted.

In 1920 the revenue of St. Lucia amounted to £99,150, or some £4,800 more than the expenditure. The customs brought in some £40,000 and the public debt was at £152,500.

Arrowroot was until recently the principal crop in St. Vincent. It is of fine quality, representing a large part of the value of the island's exports, which in 1920 were worth £299,000, or £42,000 more than the imports. But here, as elsewhere, the cultivation of Sea Island cotton is making great headway, and the industry is assisted by a Government ginnery; in 1919 the value of the cotton exported was £63,860 as against £42,220 represented by arrowroot. Sugar is grown to some extent, and a certain amount of rum is manufactured. Other crops are cocoa, groundnuts and various spices.

The land of St. Vincent was in the past held mainly in large estates, many of which were allowed to fall into decay; but in 1899, acting on the recommendations of the Royal Commission appointed three years earlier, the Imperial Government granted a sum of £15,000 for the purchase of land to be allotted in holdings of from five to ten acres. An easy scheme of payment was devised, but the new proprietors were obliged on pain of forfeiture to reside on their land and to cultivate it under the supervision of officers of the Imperial Department of Agriculture.

Under this scheme about 5,000 acres of land had been purchased and just one thousand allotments, rural and urban, disposed of up to 1911. The land was planted with various crops, such as cassava, groundnuts, pigeon-peas and maize. Most of this was consumed at home, but there was a surplus for sale to Grenada and Trinidad; while live-stock was sold to Trinidad and Barbados. About 290 acres had been planted with cotton, and the value of the yield averaged £10 per acre.

Besides the actual allotment of holdings, the beneficent work done by the aid of the grant includes the making of roads and bridges to enable the proprietors to carry their produce more easily to market. That the marked advance in prosperity which St. Vincent has experienced during the last twenty years is in the main due to the grant and to the wise use to which it has been put can hardly be doubted.

The St. Vincent Legislature budgets for considerably smaller sums than either of the sister islands. In 1920 the revenue was over £58,000, while the expenditure was just over £52,000. Nearly £26,000 was received from the customs, and the debt amounted to only £11,900.

Of Grenada, where sugar has practically ceased to be grown, cocoa is by far the most important product. After Trinidad, the island is the largest producer of cocoa in the West Indies; and in 1918 the shipments were valued at £520,000. In 1921, however, these were only worth £185,000.

There is, however, no lack of variety in the minor products. The extensive cultivation of nutmegs, cloves, vanilla, cardamoms and pepper have earned for Grenada the title of the "spice island of the West." Rubber, limes, coffee, kola-nuts and coco-nuts are also grown; tropical fruits are sent to Barbados and Trinidad; and the island abounds in good timber, mahogany, bullet-wood, locust and white cedar.

Nor is it only in vegetable products that Grenada is rich. The island can not only keep itself supplied with fresh meat, but can export live-stock, hides and skins, turtles and turtle-shell. There are fish in plenty to be caught off its shores, and on Carriacou, the largest of the Grenadines, which is dependent on Grenada, there are oysters of fine quality.

The exports reached a total of nearly £604,000 in 1918, whilst £631,000 was spent on goods from abroad.

Carriacou has been the scene of a land-settlement scheme on similar lines to that carried out in St. Vincent, and equally successful. In 1911 some 1,500 acres had been taken over, of which more than two-thirds had been allotted, and applications were still numerous. According to a Blue-book issued in that year, " this interesting and valuable dependency has in less than nine years been brought from desolation to comparative affluence." The chief crop grown is cotton, and it is an interesting fact that in Carriacou the industry has not, as elsewhere, been abandoned and reintroduced, but has been carried on continuously from the days when cotton was the most important of West Indian products. At one time this was the little island's only article of commerce, but limes are now cultivated, and lime-juice is exported in considerable quantities.

The revenue of Grenada in 1920 was £134,000 or rather more than £14,000 less than the expenditure ; about half being obtained from the customs. The debt amounted to £223,000.

TRINIDAD

Trinidad, the largest of the British West Indian islands except Jamaica, lies far nearer than any of them to the American mainland ; being divided from the coast of Venezuela only by 10 miles and 13 miles respectively at its north-western and south-western extremities. The area of the island is 1,754 square miles, and in shape it is roughly rectangular, with promontories at the four angles which caused the old geographers to liken it to an outstretched ox-hide.

The main geographical features of Trinidad are the three mountain-ranges which run from east to west : one, the loftiest and most clearly defined, along the north coast, one along the south coast and one across the centre of the island, dividing it into two plains through which flow many rivers. None of these rivers, however, is of much value for navigation.

The soil of the island, especially the low-lying coastland of the west, is extremely fertile, and the climate, though damper and hotter than that of the more northerly islands, is not unhealthy. Trinidad has the great advantage of lying outside the sphere of the hurricanes and the cyclones, nor is it liable to volcanic disturbances.

Except at Chaguaramas, in the north-west, there are no good ports ; but the Gulf of Paria, between the island and the mainland, completely surrounded by land except for the two narrow straits of the Dragon's Mouth (13 miles) and the Serpent's Mouth (10 miles) forms a safe anchorage which has been said to be capable of containing " all the navies of the world."

Trinidad owes its name to a pious vow made by Columbus, who swore to call the first land which he should sight on his third voyage—that of 1498—after the Holy Trinity. He took back to Spain a very favourable impression both of the island and of its native inhabitants; but a generation passed before any definite attempt at colonisation was made. Nevertheless Trinidad was not, like the smaller and more remote islands of the Caribbean, wholly neglected by its first discoverers. At first the island was merely regarded as a field for slave-raiding, but about 1532 an effort—though an unsuccessful effort—was made to form a colony, and fifty years later the settlement of St. Joseph, a few miles inland from Port-of-Spain, was established.

The island was to remain in Spanish possession for another two hundred years. It is true that the other colonising nations cast covetous eyes on it. More than one of the Elizabethan adventurers visited it, and Raleigh attacked and burned St. Joseph in 1595. Trinidad was named in the grant of West Indian lands to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (see p. 269), and later it was claimed by the Earl of Warwick. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it was raided by the French and perhaps also by the Dutch.

It is obvious, however, that the island inspired a very faint interest whether in the Spaniards or their rivals. The settlers were few in number and their attempts at development languid. A little cocoa was grown, but when, in 1725, the crops were ruined by blight, the colony fell on very evil days.

But in 1780 came a change. At the instigation of a Frenchman from Grenada, one St. Laurent, who had realised the great possibilities of the island, the Spanish Government began, by the offer of free grants of land and other benefits, to encourage foreign settlers. By the terms of the decrees these grants were to be made only to Catholics, and, though this proviso was far from being rigidly enforced by a tolerant Governor, its natural effect was that the vast majority of immigrants—who helped to swell the population of the island from 3,000 in 1783 to 18,000 in 1787—were Frenchmen.

There was little love lost between the old aristocratic settlers and the new immigrants with their republican ideals, but it was the French element, as being the more energetic force, which predominated; and when war broke out between France and Great Britain, Trinidad, even before Spain had formally thrown in her lot with Napoleon, was inevitably drawn into the struggle. In 1796 the French of Trinidad came into conflict with a British squadron, the commodore of which landed on the island. No actual fighting took place, but the incident was cited when Spain declared war on Great Britain.

By this declaration of war Spain lost Trinidad. In February 1797 a British squadron under Abercromby appeared before Port-of-Spain, which since 1780 had superseded St. Joseph as capital of the colony. Little but the show of a resistance was made, and on the eighteenth of the month the island was handed over to Great Britain, whose right was confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

Thomas Picton, later to be one of the heroes of Waterloo, who had served Abercromby as aide-de-camp, was appointed to govern the island—a task which he performed severely but efficiently, building roads and establishing trading relations between the island and the mainland. Charges of undue harshness, however, were brought against him by busy English humanitarians, and the Addington Ministry, which assumed office in 1804, decided to place the government of Trinidad in the hands of three commissioners, civil, military and naval. Picton was to remain as military commissioner, Sir Samuel Hood was to represent the navy, but it was the civil commissioner who was to hold the supreme power; and to this post was appointed Colonel William Fullarton of the Indian Army, who had been the most prominent of Picton's traducers. The inevitable result of this deliberately offensive arrangement was the resignation of Picton, but it was many years before he was rid of the legal harassments which were the fruit of Fullarton's zeal. The proceedings, indeed, were never brought to a formal conclusion; but it is to be noted that the inhabitants of Trinidad presented him with a sword of honour on his retirement and that they contributed £4,000 to help defray the expenses of his trial. This money he returned when Port-of-Spain was destroyed by fire in 1808 and many of its inhabitants were left destitute.

A rich island, practically undeveloped until the British occupation, Trinidad made great advances during the nineteenth century. Crown Colony government was at once established and has never been superseded. It is the only West Indian colony except St. Lucia which has never had representative institutions. From 1831 the Government consisted of a Governor and a Legislative Council of six official and six unofficial members. As reconstituted in 1898, when Tobago became a ward of Trinidad, the Legislative Council consists of the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Auditor-General, the Inspector-General of Constabulary, the Director of Public Works, the Surgeon-General, the Protector of Immigrants, the Receiver-General, the Collector of Customs, and eleven unofficial members who are appointed by the Government and retain their seats for a period of five years. For the future, however, a certain number of the members of the Council will be popularly elected.

The laws of Trinidad are approximate to the English Common Law, but they still retain certain Spanish elements ; while the land laws have been to some extent remodelled on the Australian system.

Trinidad's most important crops are cocoa and sugar. Of the former the colony is by far the largest exporter in the West Indies, and shipments increased from 246,000 cwt. in 1907 to 746,000 cwt. in 1921. Sugar is also widely grown, and is a favourite crop with the peasant farmers, but in recent years the canes have become subject to a pest, the frog-hopper, which has done much damage. The exports in 1921 amounted to 920,000 cwt., and rum and molasses were also exported. Increasing attention is paid to the cultivation of coco-nuts, both for home consumption and for sale abroad. A good deal of coco-nut oil is used by the East Indian coolies, and shipments of fruit and copra reach about 20,000,000 nuts and 5,000,000 lbs. respectively.

As in other islands, the farming of fruit, especially bananas and limes, has been developed in recent years, though the export figures fell during the War on account of the shipping shortage.

Rubber-planting and the cultivation of fibre for the manufacture of paper are reported to be making good progress in Trinidad, and a factory for the latter industry will probably soon be started. The island has a small but unusual source of income in angostura bitters, of which 65,000 gallons were exported in 1920.

In mineral wealth Trinidad occupies an unique position among the West Indian colonies. The famous pitch-lake of La Brea, which is about 120 acres in extent, is estimated to contain at least 10,000,000 tons of asphalt. Up to 1914 about 1,500,000 tons had already been exported. The lake was at first leased to an American company, but is now worked by

British concessionaries, who under their present lease, which terminates in 1930, pay an annual rent of £14,000 and a royalty on all output in excess of 10,000 tons. In 1918 the royalty amounted to £26,667. The streets of Port-of-Spain, the model city of the West Indies, are paved with asphalt from La Brea.

There are also about a dozen companies working the petroleum-fields, and up to 1918 410 wells had been sunk, more than half of which were on Crown territory. The royalties paid to the Government in that year reached a total of over £18,000, which constituted an advance of £7,000 on the previous year; the amount of oil extracted amounted to nearly 73,000,000 gallons and the exports to 32,500,000 gallons (of which gasolene accounted for 2,740,000 gallons) of the value of £428,000. These figures indicate that very considerable progress is being made in the industry, but its possibilities are still far from having been fully exploited. Enterprise has been to some extent hampered by scarcity of capital, and there is a good deal of geological exploration yet to be done; but, in the opinion of the experts, the future of the oil-fields of Trinidad should be a prosperous one, and many new wells are being sunk. Besides asphalt, crude oil and gasolene, a certain amount of manjak is exported. In 1918 the Admiralty took several shipments of crude and fuel oil. There are two large refineries on the island.

Other minerals of commercial value found in Trinidad are limestone and gypsum. Manganese and aluminium have recently been discovered, but it is too early to speculate as to their value.

Although there is plenty of good grazing land in the island, not very much attention has been paid to the raising of livestock, and meat is largely imported from Venezuela. There is, however, a Government farm, at which working cattle are bred. Like Jamaica, Barbados and the Bermudas, Trinidad has its own Agricultural Department.

It is also the headquarters of the Associated Chamber of Commerce of the West Indies, recently formed as a step towards the federal regulation of the trade of the colonies; the Imperial Department of Agriculture is being transferred thither from Barbados, and the new West Indian Agricultural College is to be situated there. There are, moreover, many other organisations for the development of agriculture and commerce —cane-farmers' associations, agricultural societies, credit societies and so on. It was on this island that the earliest State-owned stock-farm in the Caribbean was established.

Trinidad, indeed, is playing a leading part in the movement which is now afoot to reorganise the economic life of the West Indies. According to an obviously well-informed article in *The Times* (January 28, 1921), " discussion is proceeding in Trinidad on the need of establishing a West Indian line of steamers to secure regular communication with the United Kingdom. It is proposed that a company should be floated with West Indians as the principal stock-holders, oil-burning steamers of 4,000 to 5,000 tons each being obtained for the Transatlantic service. Now it is urged that the scheme should embrace an intercolonial fleet to link up all the colonies in the group, with Trinidad as the headquarters of the enterprise." Port-of-Spain, where plans for the development of the harbour, at a cost of some £500,000, are now on foot, would thus become " the Hong-kong of the West Indies " ; and the whole scheme would seem well calculated to increase the commercial activities of the colonies in general and of Trinidad itself in particular.

Some years ago a Development Commission was appointed by the Government, the projects of which include railway extension, road-making, the improvement of the water-supply, the reclamation of swamp land, and the increase of shipping facilities.

The labour question has also been taken in hand, and a committee set up in 1920 has made recommendations for a minimum wage for both skilled and unskilled labour. It seems likely that these recommendations will be followed by legislative enactments.

The principal customers of the island at present, in order of importance, are the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada; with the last-named a preferential tariff has been arranged. Gold to the value of £100,000 is yearly imported from Venezuela for transhipment to Europe. The total value of the import trade in 1920 was well over £8,000,000, figures which indicate a steady advance on previous years. The exports reached a value of £9,400,000, including £2,000,000 for re-exports and transit trade.

There are 123 miles of railway now open in Trinidad, with termini at Port-of-Spain in the north-west, Sangre Grande in in the north-east, Siparia in the south-west and Rio Claro in the south-east. In the neighbourhood of Port-of-Spain, which is one of the finest and best-equipped towns in the West Indies, there is an electric tramway service.

On account of the peculiarities of its history, the population of Trinidad, whether white or coloured, is remarkably mixed.

On the one side, the old French and Spanish elements are still strong. On the other, there is a smaller proportion of negroes than in most of the other islands, owing to the fact that here the ordinary colonial system of development by slave-labour had hardly got under way before the emancipation. The place of the negroes is to some extent taken by the East Indian coolies, who began to be brought to the island in 1845, still arrive at the rate of about 2,000 a year and at the end of 1917 numbered 125,000 in a total population estimated at 377,000.

The revenue and expenditure of the colony (including Tobago) fluctuates in the neighbourhood of £1,600,000 a year, and in recent years the balance has been slightly on the debit side. The custom receipts amounted in 1920 to about £640,000, and the public debt was a little over £3,200,000.

TOBAGO

The little mountainous and woody island of Tobago (the name of which is not now considered to have any connection with tobacco), though only 14 square miles in area, and within sight of Trinidad, from which it lies about 18 miles to the north-east, has a separate and complicated history which cannot be detailed in a small space.

Probably visited by Columbus when he discovered the larger island, its colonisation was first attempted by Englishmen from Barbados in 1625. But neither these nor the Dutchmen who followed them a few years later were able to establish themselves in face of the hostile Indians who (the island itself being apparently uninhabited) came from Trinidad or the mainland to drive them away. The subjects of the Duke of Courland who came in 1654 were more successful; but twelve years later a second Dutch expedition under two Flushing merchants surnamed Lampsius made its appearance, and, though for a few years the two settlements existed in amity side by side, it was not long ere the Courlanders were forced to submit to the new-comers. When in 1664 the Duke of Courland revived his claim, he gained the support of Charles II, and Tobago was occupied by a small English force. Thence it passed to the French; thence once more to the Dutch; and by the end of the seventeenth century it had changed hands with such bewildering frequency that it had become " a kind of No-man's land." Its neutrality was endorsed by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748); but in 1762 it fell into the hands of the English, who attached it to Grenada and set about developing its industries—first sugar and then cotton. From 1781 to 1793, however, and again from 1802 to 1803, the island was held by the French, and not until the Peace of 1814 was Great Britain's right to it finally acknowledged.

Nor did this settlement mark the term of its political vicissitudes. In 1833, on the formation or revival of the Windward Islands Government (see p. 276), Tobago was made a member of the confederation; in 1876 it became a Crown colony; in 1888 it was separated from the Windward Islands and joined to Trinidad, its local affairs being managed by a Commissioner and a Financial Board; and in 1898 its last vestige of independence was abolished and it became a ward of Trinidad.

In 1918 the exports from Tobago amounted to about £86,000, half of which was accounted for by cocoa. Other products of commercial value are coco-nuts and copra, live-stock and dairy produce, rubber, sugar, cotton, coffee and tobacco. Pimento, or allspice, grows wild in great profusion.

BRITISH GUIANA

The colony of British Guiana, with a total area of some 90,000 square miles and a coastline on the Caribbean of 250 miles, extends for over 500 miles into the South American continent, being bounded on the east by Dutch Guiana, on the south and south-west by Brazil and on the west by Venezuela. For ten miles inland the country is low-lying, below sea-level indeed, and protected by dykes which were first set up during the Dutch occupation. Beyond, the land rises through a belt of dense forest to the mountain-ranges on the borders of Venezuela and Brazil. The colony is watered by a series of large rivers, chief of which are the Essequibo, the Demerara, the Berbice and the Corentyne, which last divides English from Dutch Guiana. The Berbice is navigable for over 175 miles, but the utility of the others as waterways is minimised by cataracts and rapids. In the Kaietur Falls on the Potaro, a tributary of the Essequibo, which are five times as high as Niagara, the colony possesses an immense reservoir of power of which it has not yet been possible to make use.

The early history of what are now British, French and Dutch Guiana cannot be treated separately. From the time when Columbus reached the Orinoco in 1498 down to the end of the sixteenth century it is a history of romantic adventure. of legends of El Dorado, the Amazons and the Anthropophagi, It was not until the Dutch, attracted by Raleigh's glowing accounts of the country but eschewing, with their characteristic common sense, the search for fabulous gold, turned their attention to this land of great rivers and unknown possibilities that any attempt at permanent settlement was made. In 1616 some Zeeland merchants established a trading-post, which they called Kijkoveral (or " Outlook Everywhere ") on the Essequibo ; and five years later the Dutch West India Company was founded. A second Dutch settlement was placed on the Berbice in 1627 ; and ere long, the Elizabethan spirit of profitless daring having been superseded by more economic colonial aspirations, the English entered the field. The settlement which they planted on the Surinam in 1630 had a hard struggle for existence, but in the third quarter of the century, under the competent management of Lord Willoughby of Parham, it made great progress. Land was drained and sugar planted, and the population rose to 4,000, of whom negro slaves formed a large proportion. During the second war with Holland, however, Surinam fell into the hands of the Dutch, and for over a hundred years England had no foothold on the Guiana coast.

Under a series of able Dutch administrators the Essequibo and Berbice settlements prospered, and a new one, on the Demerara, was established and developed. But in 1780 Holland joined France and Spain in their war on Great Britain, and the immediate sequel was that the Guiana colonies were captured by a British fleet ; only to pass to the French in March 1782 and back to Holland by the Treaty of Paris in September 1783.

The years of resumed Dutch rule were few and troubled, and when the process of events threw Holland and France into opposite camps, and, under the sanction of the Prince of Orange, British ships brought British troops to defend the settlements against the common enemy, they were warmly welcomed by the Orangists. The Republican party was, however, strong enough to prevent their landing. The consequent resignation of the Orangist Governor was the signal for violent disorders, and when in April 1796 three British men-of-war convoying 1,200 troops arrived from Barbados they found no organised force to oppose them. The colonies thus passed into British hands, but it was recognised that they were only to be held until the restoration of the Stadholder to Holland, and meanwhile the Dutch Governor and other officials were allowed to retain their posts. By the Treaty of Amiens these Guiana settlements were once more assigned to the Dutch ; but on the resumption of the war they were promptly retaken by England, into whose possession they passed absolutely in 1814, a substantial monetary compensation being paid to the new kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1831 the three old colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice were united, being seven years later given the status of counties in the new colony of British Guiana.

For many years no change was made in the system of government which had obtained under Dutch rule. There was a Governor, whose powers were very extensive, and a Court of Policy consisting of four official and four elected members. The latter were chosen by the College of Kiezers (Electors), a body which was itself elected under a popular but limited franchise. For the discussion of financial questions the Court of Policy was augmented by the addition of six popularly elected members. It was then known as the Combined Court. The powers of the Combined Court were, however, very limited; while they could alter the incidence of taxation they were not permitted to modify the amount of the budget. As democratic notions spread, this state of affairs very naturally became a subject of criticism, and in 1891 the Constitution was thoroughly revised. An Executive Council, the members of which are nominated by the Crown, was established. The size of the Court of Policy was doubled, and its eight unofficial members are now elected directly by the inhabitants of the colony; as are also the six additional members of the Combined Court, the powers of which have been considerably enlarged. The College of Kiezers was abolished.

The history of British Guiana during the nineteenth century was not a very brilliant one. Nowhere, except in Jamaica, were the bad effects of the abandonment of the slave system so keenly felt. The years between the cessation of the trade and the abolition of slavery itself were especially difficult; and in 1823, as the result of the well-meaning but injudicious activities of British missionaries, there was a serious negro rebellion. Meanwhile cotton, unable to contend against the competition of America, had given place to sugar as the staple industry of the colony; and that in turn was nearly ruined by the dearth of labour following the emancipation. By 1850 the country had fallen into a very unhappy condition.

Several expedients were tried for replacing the labour of the liberated blacks, who showed little disposition to continue working for their old masters. First Portuguese from Madeira and then Chinese were brought in; but the most efficient and satisfactory labourer was found in the East Indian coolie. The system of immigration under indenture commenced in 1844, and from that date until the end of the century the arrivals from India averaged over 3,000 yearly. Subsequently the average dropped considerably, but this was due to the fact that there were so many Indians permanently settled in the country as to make immigration on the old scale unnecessary. During the Great War it was decided to abolish the indenture system and to substitute for it a system of "assisted immigration." There has not yet been time to see whether this will answer as well as the old method of labour recruitment, which was certainly a conspicuous success and came unscathed out of all the critical enquiries to which it was subjected; being described in 1893, in a report made to the Government of India, as having "passed through successive stages of improvement, until it now stands a pattern to the world of successful and liberal management." The system was undoubtedly of great assistance in the development of the resources of British Guiana.

Nevertheless that development may be said to be only beginning, and the need for immigrants is still pressing. The population of the country, which in 1921 was 297,700, is the sparsest in the West Indies, amounting to only 3·3 persons to the square mile. It is merely the alluvial fringe of this vast territory that has as yet been exploited. The resources of the interior are almost entirely unutilised and to a large extent unknown. It has been said that the colony could grow "almost every one of the tropical products that are constantly required either in Europe or America." The soil of the coastal plains is of unequalled fertility, and the climate, from the planter's point of view, is admirable—warm, moist and reliable. "The climate is both hot and wet, without excessive fluctuation or disastrous caprice; droughts are rare; prolonged rains are unusual; hurricanes are unknown; and, as a rule, the planter need have few apprehensions."[1]

The chief product of British Guiana is still sugar, but whereas it is estimated that the annual output might run into millions of tons the actual average is barely 84,000 tons, worth about £4,200,000. Moreover, the recent increase in rice-growing has been attended by a certain decrease of the acreage under sugar-cane. Sugar represents, however, about two-thirds of the total value of the colony's exports, and there are also considerable shipments of rum, molasses and molascuit.

Rice-growing, a form of cultivation to which the Indian coolies naturally take kindly, has, although hampered by lack of an adequate system of irrigation, made great progress in recent years. Whereas the average export for the five years ending with 1906 was only 93,000 lb., for the next five years it was 8,500,000 lb., and that figure had by the end of 1916 been more than doubled. It is the opinion of an expert that should the cultivation of cotton be generally developed in the Antilles at the expense of the food crops, as there seems no little likelihood of its being, then British Guiana might well " become the granary for the West Indian Islands."

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[1] *Foreign Office Handbook*, p. 51.

Two other vegetable products which have of late years acquired commercial significance are coco-nuts and limes. There are some 20,000 acres under the former, and at least half a dozen mills for the preparation of oil and fibre are already in existence. While much of the coco-nut crop is consumed in the colony, the export figures are steadily increasing. There is a very similar tale to be told of the lime industry.

Other experiments have not been so successful. Para rubber was introduced more than a quarter of a century ago, but not very much has been done with it; while the cocoa crop has remained stationary for the last ten years and hardly affects the export list, though there are several factories at which chocolate is manufactured for local consumption. Nor has the attempt to revive the cotton industry been very encouraging. Coffee, on the other hand—another old crop which, like cotton, fell out of cultivation after the emancipation—promises well. The average export for the five years ending with 1916 was 2,000 cwt., valued at £5,000, a threefold increase over the figures for the previous five years. It is hardly unreasonable to hope that ere very long the 10,000,000 lb. of 1830 may again be reached.

Considering the unlimited pasturage offered by the savannah country, stock-raising is carried on to a very limited extent, and though there is a small export of pastoral products, it is not increasing, and the import of similar commodities is far greater.

The forests of British Guiana are full of valuable timber, of which the most remarkable is greatheart, a wood of extraordinary durability which was used in the construction of the Panama and Manchester Ship Canals. From wallaba shingles are made and exported, and there are several furniture-woods of excellent quality and appearance.

An important forest industry, which is under strict Government control, is balata-tapping. Balata is a gum, obtained from the bullet-tree, which makes an excellent substitute for gutta-percha, and sales of it have increased as that commodity has grown scarce. A good deal of charcoal is also burnt, as it is much used for fuel within the colony. But the riches of the Guiana forests, which cover 80,000 square miles, have yet to be estimated.

The same may be said of the country's mineral wealth. Gold was discovered in 1879 and by the end of 1916 about 2,500,000 oz. of the value of over £9,000,000 had been produced. The most flourishing period of the industry was about 1893–94, since which date, owing to lack of labour and the extraordinary difficulties of prospecting, there has been a gradual decline in production.

Diamonds are also found, and in 1920 a record was created, the year's "bag" amounting to 234,456 stones weighing 39,362 carats. The most productive fields are in the neighbourhood of the Mazaruni, and the stones, though for the most part small, are of good water.

Metals known to exist are aluminium, manganese, tin, platinum, copper and iron, and many applications have been made for concessions to work the recently discovered bauxite deposits. At one time it was believed that petroleum might be found in payable quantities, but, so far as investigation has at present been carried, this would seem to have been an illusion.

The development of British Guiana is at present hampered by the inadequacy of the means of communication. Only a small portion of the coastal district is served by railways. From Georgetown, on the Demerara, the capital of the colony, lines run westward to Parika on the estuary of the Essequibo and eastward to New Amsterdam on the Berbice, 79 miles in all. Farther inland is a line of eighteen miles in length which joins Rockstone on the Essequibo to Wismar on the Berbice. These railways are to a certain extent supplemented by good roads, but the only way of penetrating the interior is by the rivers, which soon become unnavigable by all but the smallest craft and dangerous by reason of frequent cataracts. For some years a project has been on foot to drive a railway through the very heart of the country from Georgetown to a point on the Brazilian frontier. At first the scheme made very little progress, but it now seems in a fair way to be realised.

Although the country is in some respects so backward, its financial position is sound. In 1920 the revenue was £1,270,675 (a little over half derived from the customs), as against an expenditure of £1,007,047. A substantial credit balance was again anticipated in the budget for 1922; while it is a healthy sign that of recent years the export figures have usually exceeded the import. The year 1920, when exports reached £6,100,000 and imports just a million less, shows the highest figures yet attained.

BRITISH HONDURAS

The Central American colony of British Honduras, bounded by Mexico, Guatemala and the portion of the Caribbean Sea known as the Gulf of Honduras, has an area of about 8,600 square miles. The northern section is flat, the southern mountainous, and the coastal lands, which are continued in numerous, mostly uninhabited *cays* or islets, are low-lying and swampy. The population is but little over 40,000, and of these only some 400 are Europeans, the remainder being Indian, negro or hybrid. About a quarter of the population lives in Belize, the capital, and large stretches of the interior are entirely uninhabited. The climate is subtropical and tempered by sea-breezes, and the trade-wind blows almost without interruption for about three-quarters of the year. It is cooler in the south than in the north, and the highlands of the interior are said to be suitable for Europeans. Malaria is the principal cause of death.

The colony originated in the settlements of the Englishmen who began to come thither about the second quarter of the seventeenth century to cut timber. These settlements were scattered far beyond the boundaries of what is now British territory, ranging from the Laguna de Terminos in the Gulf of Campeche to the Mosquito Coast (Nicaragua), and including the Bay Islands off the coast of the present Republic of Honduras. It was long, however, before the right of Great Britain to any part of them was formally established. Disputes with the Spaniards, the first explorers of the country, were inevitable.

By the Treaty of 1670 between Spain and England the right of the latter to " all the lands, countries, islands, colonies, and other places, be they what they will," which the King of Great Britain or his subjects then held in the West Indies or any part of America, was acknowledged. But it was never admitted by Spain that the settlements of the woodcutters fell within this provision, and in or about 1717 the settlement at Laguna de Terminos was broken up. Thenceforward the woodcutters, or Baymen, as they were at that time called, concentrated more and more on the Belize River. By the Treaty of Paris signed in 1763 it was agreed that the English woodcutters should not be disturbed in their occupation, but that any fortifications which they had erected should be demolished. Twenty years later, by the Treaty of Versailles, the right of British subjects to cut logwood between the Hondo and Belize, that is to say in the northern half of the present colony, was admitted, but Spanish sovereignty was affirmed. The Convention of London (1786) extended the boundaries of the settlement southward to the Sibun. In 1798 an unsuccessful attempt made by the Spaniards to destroy the Belize settlement resulted in the extinction of the shadow of Spanish sovereignty.

In the nineteenth century, after the dissolution of the Spanish Empire, the British in Central America found themselves regarded with no friendly eye by the new Latin Republics, while the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine brought into prominence the question of their relations with the United States, especially with regard to the canal which it was proposed to construct across the isthmus. A satisfactory solution of these problems was, however, gradually arrived at. In 1859 the Bay Islands, which had been given the status of a British colony seven years earlier, were ceded to the Republic of Honduras; in 1860 the Mosquito Coast, where relations between the English and the Indians had always been peculiarly friendly, was made over to Nicaragua; and the position of British Honduras, which now reached as far south as the Sarstoon (the present boundary with Guatemala), was strengthened by the composition of Anglo-American differences in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and the Hay-Pauncefote Convention.

The present constitution of British Honduras dates only from 1884. In early days the settlers, though nominally under the authority of Jamaica, were practically independent, managing their own affairs and electing their own magistrates. This last they did at least as late as 1830, but in 1786 they were given a Superintendent from England. The individual chosen, however, Colonel Despard, behaved with so little discretion that he was soon at loggerheads with the colonists, and in 1790 a reversion was made to the old system. Seven years later, when the Spaniards were threatening to attack Belize, a British Superintendent was once more sent out; and self-government under the supervision of a representative from the Mother-country obtained for some sixty years. Naturally this rather makeshift arrangement led to friction. The colonists complained that the Superintendents encroached on their liberties, and indeed they gradually got the appointment of magistrates into their own hands. In 1853, therefore, an attempt was made to put matters on a more definite and satisfactory basis. The Legislature was to consist of the Superintendent and a Legislative Assembly of three nominated and eighteen elected members. In 1862 British Honduras was declared to be a colony under the Governor of Jamaica, and the Superintendent was replaced by a Lieutenant-Governor. Eight years later, at the request of the Legislative Assembly, the elective system was abolished and Crown Colony government substituted. In 1884 the connection with Jamaica was dissolved. The Government now consists, therefore, of the Governor, an Executive Council of three official and three unofficial members and a Legislative Council of eight, on which the unofficial members are in the majority.

The wealth of British Honduras is still mainly comprised in those forests which attracted the first colonists; but whereas in the old days logwood, used in the manufacture of dyes, was considered the most valuable of the many varieties of timber which grow there, it has now been superseded in importance by mahogany and, to a less degree, by a so-called cedar, which is really also a variety of mahogany. In the years immediately preceding the war the value of the logwood exported was, on an average, only about £19,000, while that of mahogany was £145,000—a considerable proportion of which, however, as was also the case with the "cedar," was cut beyond the frontiers of the colony and brought to Belize for shipment. During the war, when the supplies of German aniline dyes, the chief cause of its diminution, were cut off, the logwood industry revived to a considerable extent; and its future depends on the fiscal policy finally adopted by the Imperial Government. In 1904 a contract was made for the sale of pine-trees, which clothe the highlands of the south, to an American citizen, who was to pay 1 cent per tree to the Government. Another very important forest product is sapodilla gum or chicle, obtained from the sapodilla tree, the exports of which are about equal in value to those of mahogany; while there are many other kinds of timber of which little advantage has, so far, been taken, though during the war hardwood was sent to England in large quantities for the construction of aeroplane parts. Nor have the valuable oil-bearing nuts of the cahoon palm or the vanilla orchid been exploited.

Within recent years there has been a considerable development of agricultural and plantation products. The main obstacle has been the scarcity of labour ; for the natives, preferring the freer life of the forests, are with difficulty induced to work in the fields. A Department of Agriculture, on the lines of those already existing in the more important West Indian islands, was established in 1920, and is actively furthering the cultivation of sugar, which up to the present, though grown to some extent—and though there is a small export of rum—has had to be imported. A sugar and syrup factory is to be established on a co-operative basis, the Government and the planters being partners in the undertaking. The growing of rice is also to be encouraged ; and the natural conditions are admirable for coffee, cotton, tobacco and all tropical fruits. Bananas and coco-nuts are already sent abroad in satisfactory quantities, and there are smaller shipments of plantains, rubber (of which the prospects are thought to be good) and cocoa. The total export trade is at present worth about £1,000,000, and the imports exceed this by about £200,000.

It is not only lack of labour that hinders the opening-up of the country. There is a great need for better means of communication. There are only 25 miles of railway in the colony, and the roads are for the most part very poor. In many parts the rivers, down which the timber is floated from the interior to the coast, are the only means of transit. There are a few canals, and the extension of the system would be very beneficial.

Communication with the outer world has hitherto been defective, but with the development of Imperial intercourse this will no doubt be remedied. There is already a regular service to Canada. The improvement of Belize harbour, with a view to the accommodation of increased shipping, has been planned.

Very little live-stock is reared in British Honduras, though there are good local breeds of small horses and mules. On the other hand, the colony possesses some interesting marine industries. The Caribs are great fishermen and many varieties of fish are caught. Turtles abound, and tortoise-shell is exported, as are also sponges, though to nothing like the potential extent. It is thought that the collection of conch shells for the manufacture of cameos might be made a remunerative industry.

What minerals there may be in the interior is almost altogether unknown. Gold, both in quartz and in sand, has been found, as also rubies and opals, manganese, graphite and lead. There are large deposits of limestone and clays, and marbles and building-stone of good quality. A geological survey is to be made when opportunity offers, and it is hoped that petroleum will be discovered. The authorities consider, however, that agricultural development is the more urgent need.

Since 1894 the United States gold dollar has been the standard coin in British Honduras. In 1920–21 the revenue of the colony was £232,500 and the expenditure £191,115; while the public debt amounted to £180,000.

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

The Falkland Islands lie about 350 miles east of Magellan Strait, between 51° and 53° south latitude and 57° 30′ and 61° 30′ west longitude. Their dependencies comprise all British territory south of 50° south latitude and between 20° and 50° west longitude; and south of 58° south latitude and between 50° and 80° west longitude. The chief of these dependencies are the island of South Georgia, the only one of them permanently inhabited; the Sandwich group; the South Orkneys; the South Shetlands; and Graham Land, a peninsula of the Antarctic continent, of which the hinterland is unexplored.

The Falklands consist of two main islands, East and West Falkland, respectively 3,000 and 2,300 square miles in area, and about one hundred smaller islands, bringing the total area up to about 6,500 square miles. With their peat-covered moorlands and quartzite peaks and ridges, and their rocky, deeply-indented coasts, they bear a marked resemblance to the Western Highlands of Scotland, whence so many of their inhabitants have come. "In the orderly streets of Port Stanley one meets sturdy, red-cheeked, golden-haired children of the true Scottish type, whose daily life is not dissimilar from that of their cousins eight thousand miles away. From the chimneys of the comfortable red-brick house rises the smoke of cheery fires; along the bend of the road lie the church and the school; the postman and policeman are figures as familiar as that of the farmer riding his shaggy little pony or the peat-cutter walking beside his cart on the hill-side. The gorse hedge is aflame with scented golden flowers, the grass is thick with daisies; the cottage gardens are full of fruit bushes, of hardy blossoms and vegetables."[1]

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[1] *Times*, May 24, 1921.

The islands were sighted three times within the last decade of the sixteenth century: by John Davis in 1592; by Richard Hawkins in 1594; and by a Dutchman, Sebald de Veert, in 1598. Each of these explorers gave them his own name, Hawkins adding a compliment to the Queen he served by calling them Hawkins's Maiden Land. Then they were forgotten for nearly a century, until Captain Strong visited them in 1690. He called the straits between the two large islands Falkland Sound, after the then Treasurer of the Navy; and this name was soon transferred to the islands themselves.

It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that there was any thought of settlement. Then the British Admiralty, acting on the suggestion of Anson, just back from his voyage round the world, proposed to send an expedition to ascertain whether the islands were suitable for a naval station. The idea was given up, apparently on account of protests from Spain; but in 1764 a French settlement was established on the north-east coast of East Falkland. Spain once more protested, and eventually the French abandoned their claim, a sum of money being paid in compensation to Bougainville, organiser of the settlement.

Meanwhile Captain John Byron, the poet's grandfather, had landed on the western island, at a point which he named Egmont Harbour, and had claimed the neighbouring territory and islands as the property of the British Crown. In 1766 a British garrison was placed at Port Egmont. Again Spain evinced dissatisfaction, and in 1770 the garrison was expelled by an expedition from Buenos Aires. The British Government remonstrated in strong terms, and in 1771 the garrison returned to Port Egmont; and though the place was abandoned three years later, the British flag was left flying.

Spain, however, had never formally renounced her right of sovereignty over the islands, and on that ground the Argentine Republic, as the heirs of Spain in this quarter of the globe, took possession of them in 1820, until which date they had been deserted since the English left in 1774. Great Britain took no immediate action, but in 1832, trouble having arisen between Vernet, the Governor appointed by the South American Republic, and the United States, H.M.S. *Clio* was sent to assert the British claim, and since that date, in spite of protests from Buenos Aires, the Falkland Islands have remained in British possession. At first they were administered by the Admiralty, but in 1834 they were made a Crown Colony, with Governor and Executive and Legislative Councils.

During the Argentine régime the islands were colonised by Guachos, but these were now replaced by Scots ; and Scotsmen now form the large proportion of the population, which in 1920 amounted to 3,270, including about 1,000 in South Georgia. In 1846 one Lafone, a Montevidean merchant, was granted a concession in East Falkland, amounting to about one-third part of the island, together with possession for six years of all the wild cattle in the colony. This contract was renewed in 1850, but soon afterwards Lafone made his rights over to the Falkland Islands Company, which has played a predominant part in developing the industries of the islands.

By far the most important of these industries is sheep-farming. From 35,000 in 1867 the number of sheep has increased to 700,000 and the islands have been described as "practically one large sheep-run." It is hoped that in a few years there will be 2,000,000. The land is nearly all divided up into farms, some of them as large as 100,000 acres, and the farmers are prosperous and their hands well paid. The pasturage has been improved by grass-planting. There is, however, a shortage of labour, as many of the young men emigrate to Patagonia. "It is a matter of pride for the Falklands that from these islands came the enterprise that turned Patagonia from a desert into one of the greatest sheep-raising regions in the world."[1] Wool, skins, tallow, live sheep and canned mutton are exported. There is a canning factory at Goose Green, Port Stanley, where in 1917 42,000 sheep were canned.

The main significance of the dependencies lies in their value as whaling-stations. The industry was only started some fifteen years ago, but South Georgia is now one of the principal whaling-centres of the world. There are a large number of companies exploiting the fisheries under lease from the Falkland Islands Government, which exercises a strict control over the industry. Most of these companies are Scandinavian, and a good deal of the labour which they employ comes from Argentina. The value of the industry increased tenfold between 1910 and 1913. In recent years it has averaged £1,800,000 *per annum* ; and in 1920 it exceeded that amount by nearly a million.

The value of exports of all kinds in 1920 was a little over £3,000,000 ; that of the imports, which include nearly all the necessities of life except meat, just over £900,000. Most of the exports go to the United Kingdom, Leicester taking the bulk of the wool clip; but a considerable proportion of the whale products is sent to Norway.

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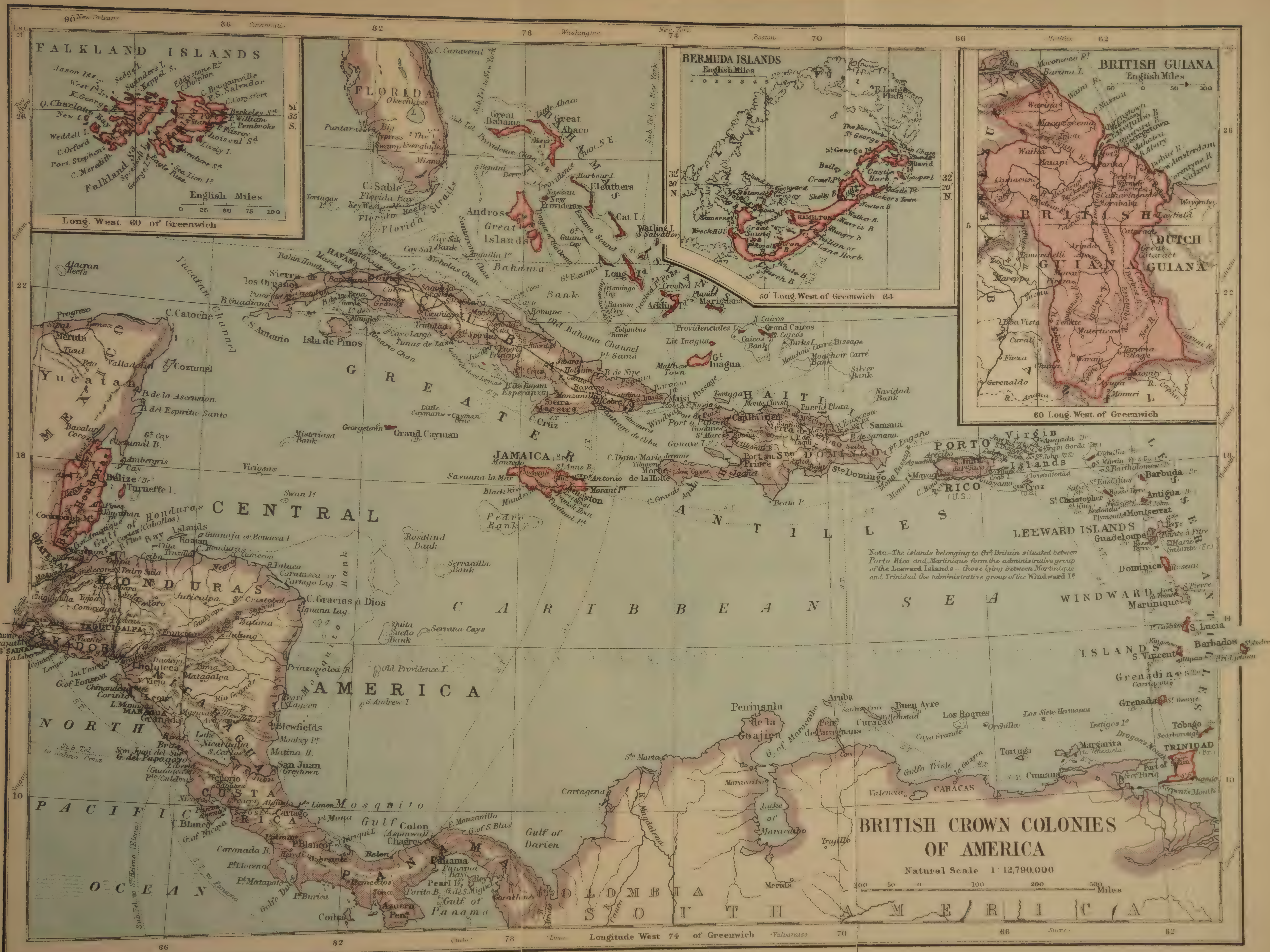
[1] *Times*, ut sup.

Financially the colony is extremely flourishing. Its revenue in 1920 was £71,500, or £18,000 more than its expenditure. There is no debt; on the other hand, the assets in the treasury at the beginning of 1919 amounted to £183,200.



BRITISH CROWN COLONIES OF AMERICA

Natural Scale 1:12,790,000

Note—The islands belonging to Grt Britain situated between Porto Rico and Martinique form the administrative group of the Leeward Islands — those lying between Martinique and Trinidad the administrative group of the Windward Is

FALKLAND ISLANDS
English Miles
Long. West 60 of Greenwich
BERMUDA ISLANDS
English Miles
50' Long. West of Greenwich 64
BRITISH GUIANA
English Miles
60 Long. West of Greenwich
DUTCH GUIANA
FLORIDA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
HAITI
JAMAICA
PORTO RICO (U.S.)
Virgin Islands
LEEWARD ISLANDS
WINDWARD ISLANDS
GREATER ANTILLES
LESSER ANTILLES
CARIBBEAN SEA
CENTRAL AMERICA
MEXICO
Yucatan
BRITISH HONDURAS
Belize
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
COLOMBIA
SOUTH AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
NORTH
Grand Cayman
Kingston
Barbados
Trinidad
Tobago
Grenada
S. Vincent
S. Lucia
Martinique
Dominica
Guadeloupe
Montserrat
Antigua
Barbuda
Caracas
Cartagena
Lake of Maracaibo
Gulf of Darien
Gulf of Honduras
Mosquito Gulf
Gulf of Panama
Longitude West 74 of Greenwich
Miles

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[(C) signifies Canada, (N) Newfoundland]

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